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PACIFIC STUDIES

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AN ELITE FOR A NATION? REFLECTIONS ON A MISSIONARY GROUP IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA, 1890-1986

David Wetherell
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Charles W. Abel, who arrived in British New Guinea in 1890, two years following colonial annexation, was founder of the Kwato Mission of Papua. In recently published writings, Abel has been described as one who looked forward to the time when Papua would be governed by Papuans. Kwato, it has been said, produced an advanced Papuan elite, which would assume responsibility for their own country.

Yet Abel's career spanned the "dog days" of European empire, and his death in 1930 preceded by twenty-five years the dismantling of the first British colony in Africa, long before the "new order" in colonial affairs had caused more than a ripple in the South Pacific.

This article surveys the salient features of leadership training at the Kwato Mission in the ninety years of its existence. It asks whether the Papuans at Kwato were building for a future self-governing Papua under Abel's leadership, as has been claimed. Conversely, it asks whether the Christian Papuans at Kwato were intended to collaborate with the European settler-missionary family who presided over their fortunes in prolonging European rule over Papua New Guinea.

In 1877 two pioneer agents of the London Missionary Society (LMS) made an exploratory visit to Milne Bay at the eastern end of the New Guinea mainland. Several months later, Samarai or Dinner Island near Milne Bay was purchased by the LMS as a mission station for 2/6 d. worth of hoop iron and trinkets, and then exchanged in 1888 for an island two miles distant known as Quato. After a long delay, F. W. Walker, son of a lighter owner at Hull, and C. W. Abel (b. 1862), a for-

mer clerk in a London circulating library, were appointed to lead the first permanent European mission at the "East End" of New Guinea. Taking six children from the older mission station at Suau, Walker and Abel moved to the seventy-acre island of Quato in August 1891.

It was a cause for concern among humanitarians at the time that the change in tribal activity which accompanied the coming of the *pax Britannica* apparently resulted in a decline in the vigor of subject peoples and led to depopulation. Before the expansion of formal European empires in Africa and Oceania in the 1880s, most Protestant missionaries in the Pacific had confined their educational work to teaching literacy and translating the Bible. There were occasional minor "industrial" ventures such as printing, furniture making, and boat-building. Walker and Abel, however, thought there was an opportunity in eastern Papua to provide new cultural substitutes in place of the traditional arts which were apparently decaying: the solution, they believed, lay in removing the most promising boys and girls permanently from their villages and instructing a new generation of Papuans they had taken under their own roof. With Beatrice Abel (1869–1939), Charles' wife from 1892, they acquired a family of children who had chosen to leave their clans or had been mandated to the mission by the New Guinea government. It seems that no resistance was offered by elders in the hamlets to the children's going to reside at Quato. This was in contrast to the society at Mailu, 160 miles westward, where adults refused to allow offspring to move to the nearby LMS mission from their ancestors' land.

The "new generation," or *Isibaguna* as they were called, came initially from the Daui-speaking communities of Suau, twenty-five miles westward along Papua's south coast. The mission headquarters at Quato (or Kwato) lay on the border between traditional rivals: the Daui-speaking people to the west as far as Suau, and the Tavara-speaking people who predominated in Milne Bay. Thus the children who were to be forged into a progressive group of Christian Papuans came from two main language groups. "We have no difficulty in getting the best of these independ[e]nt young people to leave their villages," Abel wrote. Walker would "pick up the most promising boys and girls" and "hand them over to me."¹ The partnership with Walker ended in 1894 with Walker's appointment to the LMS Torres Straits mission. Male and female residents of Kwato numbered 30 by 1894 and three times that number by the turn of the century. By 1911 over 150 people were living on the island.² The mission's headquarters reached its maximum size of 250 residents before the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941.

With the passage of time, the *Isibaguna* of Kwato came to see them-

selves as separate from the unconverted people of the mainland (called the *ganamuri* or those "outside the fence") and sometimes at odds with the white society of officials and merchants growing up around them in eastern New Guinea. The influence of the Kwato group reached into those parts of Milne Bay where Abel had begun acquiring plantation lands before the First World War. These converts, or *ganara* (those "inside the fence"), numbered 880 by the time of Abel's death in 1930.³ At the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1942 as many as 5,000 people were adherents. Most were living in the original mission district of Milne Bay and neighboring coasts, or in a sphere of influence that had been opened in 1934 near Abau, 130 miles to the west. Insofar as the aspirations of the Kwato Papuans can be discerned independently of their European mentors, they wished to raise themselves from their position as "boys" to a place within the European social and commercial establishment of Papua.

Like other nineteenth-century missions in Africa and Oceania, the object of Kwato was to provide a setting favorable to the inculcation of Protestant Christian values. Comparisons could be made with earlier Evangelical missions to the American Indians, or with the Norfolk Island headquarters of the Anglican Melanesian Mission. Abel had encountered Maori people during a stay in New Zealand (1881–1884), and apparently was familiar with Te Aute College established by the Evangelical missionary Samuel Williams for the training of Maori youths at Hawkes Bay. Like the American Indian missions, Kwato emphasized a "complete break" with the past: the eradication, as far as practicable, of links with clan loyalties and village customs. But Kwato differed radically from Norfolk Island in that students on Norfolk were expected to return to a Melanesian village milieu, while Kwato came to be developed as a group perpetuating itself through intermarriage and a lifelong link of dependence on the island.

Abel's plans were endorsed by a black American, Booker T. Washington (1856?–1915), son of a slave, who preached the ideal of "salvation by the hands" as a means of fostering economic and social improvement among American blacks. As early as 1904 Abel was having long talks with Papuan converts about Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Aware of the depopulation that often seemed to follow white settlement, he asked his students to help him "to save the race from what looked like certain destruction."⁴ He warmly concurred with Washington's maxim that property, education, and Christianity should be the black man's "cloud by day and pillar of fire by night." In turn, Washington wrote approving Abel's "sensible" industrial schemes in Papua.

The Tuskegee ideal of salvation by industry for the American black—"first the Gospel, next the helping hand"—was parallel to Abel's writings about Papuan people at the turn of the century. So was Washington's appeal to American businessmen, to give the black artisan "a man's chance in the commercial world."⁵ Abel believed western influence was "devastating" village society: younger Papuans must therefore acquire new knowledge and industrious habits before their people were blotted out; only the fittest would survive. It is perhaps significant that Abel was the only LMS volunteer in New Guinea whose reading while a student had included Darwin's work *On the Origin of Species*.⁶ There was an urgency of tone in his writing that was missing in the more sedate policies pursued by his LMS colleagues in the South Pacific.

The education of children at Kwato differed markedly from the methods followed by other missionary societies. Abel's belief about the severity of the racial clash and his revulsion toward traditional customs meant that his young converts were more consciously shielded from their parents' culture and absorbed into the civilization of the colonizing power. Kwato was the only mission in the colony that practiced (as nearly as possible) the complete assimilation of its inner core into the values and virtues of Europeans. Montagu Stone-Wigg, first Anglican bishop of New Guinea, noted after a visit in 1897: "Children (40) under care of station and completely isolated from surroundings in village and cut off from all contact. Taken quite young. Dressed and brought up as English. Complete control in Mr. Abel's hands."⁷

That the mission's methods remained unchanged was revealed by the government officer and anthropologist, W. E. Armstrong, twenty-five years later:

Children brought up from birth on the Mission Station and carefully protected from contact with the native village, and especially denied the knowledge of their own language (which is very nearly the case with some of those on Mr Abel's Mission), can be made to acquire, without doubt, a totally different outlook, namely, more or less that of the white man.⁸

Geographically the East End district presented a striking contrast with the rest of southern Papua. Instead of offering vistas of long beaches stretching interminably westward, the district was curved and compact: from the 140-foot summit of Kwato island, its extremities could be embraced in the span of the extended arms. China Strait was a cosmopolitan highway, and ships plying between the Australian col-

onies and the New Guinea plantations could be seen from the Kwato verandah rounding the island's northern point of Isu Hina.⁹ The panorama from the house was vividly described in Malinowski's diary in 1914 when he visited Abel:

My eyes drank in the pleasure of the landscape. . . . The hills and the all-powerful, lovely jungle a dark green, the transparent water bright green, the sky frozen in perpetually good weather, the sea a deep azure blue. Over it the outlines of countless distant islands; closer to me, I distinguished bays, valleys, peaks. The mountains of the mainland—everything immense, complicated, and yet absolutely harmonious and beautiful.¹⁰

All parts of the district were easily accessible from the headstation. The villages were scattered beach hamlets, sometimes of only half a dozen houses, and considerably smaller than the substantial villages adjoining other LMS headstations at Mailu, Kerepunu, Hula, Hanuabada, and Motumotu. To such observers as William MacGregor, first British Administrator of New Guinea, and the scientist A. C. Haddon, the other districts of the LMS in New Guinea seemed to be in a moribund condition in the 1890s—"in a hopeless mess" as Beatrice Abel put it.¹¹ By contrast, it was predicted that in Milne Bay, the Society would have what was called a "successful mission."

Such a prediction arose from assumptions of race as well as geography. To early mission writers, New Guinea appeared to contain two races, the light-skinned "Malay" easterners and the dark-skinned "Papuan" westerners. The "Malay" race populated the long coast as far west as Cape Possession. They included the Massim people of eastern Papua, who appeared more adaptable and therefore less deficient in intellect than their darker-skinned western countrymen, who represented an "awful drop" in humanity.¹² E. Pryce Jones, a former Madagascar missionary, said that the difference between an eastern and a western Papuan was as wide as that between a Malagasy and a West African Negro. "The Kwato district people are the most docile of the New Guinea tribes," said Jones. "A woman [missionary] can carry on the work if she is capable enough."¹³ The Dau- and Tavara-speaking peoples, already linked by traditional trade to other Massim people in the eastern archipelagos, appeared highly receptive to European influences reaching them from the sea lanes. At the same time, Abel considered that the fragility of village society in Milne Bay would make the impact of European penetration all the more devastating. Because of

the clan elders' lack of strongly entrenched authority and the apparent docility of the people, there was a possibility that a mission center could be established for the youths at a fixed point without attracting hostility from the elders.

This, then, was the argument raised by the founder of Kwato in appealing for a greater share of the financial resources of the LMS than was allotted to his brother missionaries: the argument that Milne Bay constituted both a special problem and a unique opportunity for the LMS in New Guinea. The diffusion of Christianity in Oceania had occurred from east to west, with the movement to the western Pacific of Polynesians from Rarotonga, Niue, and Samoa. LMS missionaries in Papua believed that Papuan agents recruited from among the more "amenable," "mild," and "loyal" eastern Massim people¹⁴ and trained at Kwato would be able to revitalize other parts of the New Guinea mission by being moved westward. In short, it was said that the "East" should evangelize the "West" in New Guinea.¹⁵ LMS funds, augmented by a gift in 1902 from the philanthropist J. H. Angas of South Australia for the establishing of industrial mission schools equipped with workshops, were siphoned from other districts and allotted to Kwato. In one year, for example, the disbursement of funds from the LMS mission's industrial budget showed a large imbalance: Daru £20, Vatorata £50, Hula £20, Isuleilei £100, Kwato £2,500.¹⁶ When Abel faced financial difficulties due to overspending, other LMS districts reduced their budgets in Kwato's favor and consequently, as a colleague put it, had to "[get] on as best they could."¹⁷ The effects were cumulative. Of the £10,000 provided by the Angas Fund for the whole of the New Guinea Mission, Kwato gained £8,366 in the fourteen years from 1902, in addition to its annual LMS grant.¹⁸ By investing in money and materials for the eastern district, LMS missionaries were persuaded that they were investing ultimately in the future of the New Guinea Mission as a whole.

The additional funds drawn by Kwato were used for a variety of enterprises. Beginning originally with girls' needlework and boys' carpentry, Abel had within fifteen years a small ship's slipway, a steam sawmill (purchased in 1904 with £1,000 from the Angas Fund), a bakery, and a dairy herd selling milk to residents of Samarai. Following Walker's tentative beginning in copra gathering in 1897, Abel launched his workmen into coconut planting on a large scale thirteen years later. By 1914, in addition to ten branch stations, Abel was LMS agent for six flourishing plantations at Loani, Kanakope (Salaoni), Koeabule, Mode-wa Isu, Giligili (Lauiam), and the Wagawaga properties of Bisimaka and Manawara.¹⁹

Abel's vision for Kwato, and Papua as a whole, was based on a belief in discipline as a means of developing robust character, a notion widespread among Victorian educators. He intended to develop qualities of leadership. New boys and girls saw the word DISCIPLINE printed in scarlet on the classroom wall. They could expect to hear many homilies on the subject, for Abel believed it was by devotion to regular discipline that the young Papuan would be turned into an industrious and progressive citizen. A writer in 1906 noted that no fewer than five general musters took place daily on the Kwato parade ground between dawn and dusk. At five A.M. the leaders on duty marshalled the community into columns, and with a "Ri-bow-turn-mars" the 101 children turned on their heels in military fashion for a bathe in the sea. Then, having breakfasted on a hard ship's biscuit and a mug of tea, Muna the engine driver began the steam sawmill, and the workshops sprang into action.²⁰ It was Abel's conviction that the rhythm of the steam piston, the beating of hammers, and the rasp of the mill by themselves induced a sense of regularity; and the students agreed. "[This mill] will give us good houses and many other things it will put within our reach," wrote Dagoela Manuwera of Suau. "In our hearts we say, our father, Mr Abel, we thank you to death, you have brought us this good thing which will benefit New Guinea."²¹

The community's leaders, known as *tanuaga*, were organized by Edidai, the head girl, and a Suau youth, Josia Lebasi. Mireka was the first female teacher; Mary and Boru were two other senior girl students. Prominent among other leader-artisans were the sawmill engineer Muna and Tiebubu, described as "the best native mechanic in Papua."²² Dagoela Manuwera, son of the head man of Savaia village near Suau, was a mission teacher and translator, while Josia's brother Biga, with Vainebagi, Mareko, and Pita, were "men of very strong influence" in Milne Bay.²³ In about 1906 Lebasi was appointed first chairman of the "Kwato Council," which administered the *laugagaeo* or mission laws. In the previous year, similar experimental village councils had been set up by the neighboring Anglican mission in northeastern Papua. Abel described the Kwato Council as a "simple form of municipal government" ruling the island community through a weekly roster duty.²⁴ Under Lebasi's direction the community was hedged in from the *ganamuri*, "those outside the fence," with a system of regulations designed largely to prevent sexual dalliances.²⁵ A version of the Native Regulations of the British New Guinea government was recited by students.²⁶

In order to give unity and vigor to his educated group, as well as progeny, Abel looked to lifelong associations between Kwato boys and girls. Coming from villages where marriages were customarily arranged

by elders, students expected Charles and Beatrice to confirm their choice of partners. Some boys who applied for a girl's hand were rejected at the mission house or by the girl herself. The reason was sometimes that the girl's ability had outstripped her suitor's. "I wrote to say Dalai was not on the market" wrote Abel tartly, in response to a student's marriage proposal.²⁷ In consequence, a number of outstanding women at Kwato remained single: Dalai Kitalapu, Alice Wedega, and Elsie Joseph were among them. Kwato was the only mission in the western Pacific possessing a substantial number of women teachers. It must be remembered that women were traditional land owners in the matri-lineal society of Milne Bay and, according to early observers, enjoyed a higher position than did the "downtrodden" women further west. They could inherit garden lands and coconut trees; and their rights of ownership may have been partly responsible for their independent bearing. They did not have to rely wholly on their husbands for economic support. This provided a basis for further training by Beatrice Abel, as well as her cousin Margaret Parkin (missionary 1896–1939), and later for the eldest surviving Abel daughter Phyllis ("P.D.") (1923–1955), her sister Marjorie ("Badi") (1932–1942), and cousin Mary Abel (1932–1940). These women could build upon the stronger independence that already existed among the girls who came to Kwato. Abel's own union was an unusually happy marriage that lasted thirty-seven years, and the unwavering devotion of husband to wife provided a stable model for Papuan women at Kwato. Married or single, women from Milne Bay and northeastern Papua were more assertive than were other Papuan women at that time.²⁸

While molding the leaders of both sexes through a fairly exacting discipline, Abel made plans for the surplus population growing up on the island. Blocks of land originally acquired by Walker for cotton growing at Loani near Samarai were added to other parcels of property made available to Abel from 1910 by a syndicate of Abel's Sydney business friends, whose earlier commercial purchases or leases had apparently been sanctioned by the Papuan government. These parcels of land were settled by colonies of Kwato workers, and Abel offered to clear and harvest rubber and copra for his Sydney promoters with the use of mission labor at a fee of £15 per acre.²⁹ Meanwhile, further west, such trainee artisans as Wadialei and Adamu took shiploads of timber sawn at Kwato and raised prefabricated buildings under Lebasi's direction on the LMS stations at Daru, Mawatta, and Mailu.³⁰

All these developments were welcomed by the founder of Kwato but the progress of workshop and sawmill, dairy and plantations was

attracting a mixed reception among LMS missionaries in Papua. W. G. Lawes, the senior LMS missionary, had already helped arrange Walker's removal to the West in 1894 on the grounds that the eastern station was over-staffed while other LMS districts languished for lack of manpower. Ten years later, Lawes described as a "huge mistake" Abel's purchase of a steam sawmill. By this time there was some additional criticism of Abel's children's colony as a "hothouse system." Disquiet at the isolation of a small group from the mass of Papuan people was voiced by W. G. Lawes in 1905:

A new word . . . "Christian settlements" are spoken of in which natives would live for years and years under Missionary control . . . this is surely unsuitable for New Guinea. We do not want "gardens walled around" in this great heathen land, but rather a stream of trained, educated Xtian men who may influence and change the native villages.³¹

But younger missionaries compared thirty years' work in the Fly River with that of a decade at Kwato. If such mission stations were called hothouses, wrote W. J. V. Saville at Mailu in 1909, greater funds should be expended to achieve hothouse results.³² To other LMS staff in the first ten years of the century, only one of the stations along the hundreds of miles of the south coast seemed to be conducting a convincing battle against the heathen. Even with "that devilish white settlement" of Samarai nearby, the Kwato students maintained "fine Christian living" on the station.³³ "The more I see of Kwato" wrote C. F. Rich from Fife Bay forty miles west, "the more convinced am I that the settlement plan is the only one."³⁴

Nevertheless, the expansion of Kwato's activities into Milne Bay increasingly brought the founder into conflict with the parent Society and its field agents in Papua, anxious that their reputation not be tarred with the brush of trade. At length, after protracted delays, a deputation of the London directors of the Society visited Papua in 1915-1916. Under instructions to retrench LMS activities where necessary, the deputation decided to limit plantations to one hundred acres per district and reduce the number of residents to sixty children on each station. Abel by 1916 had six times the limit in plantations and three times the number of dependants. The deputation decided that it was no part of the missionary's duty to trade. Moreover, the deputation endorsed Lawes' view that a missionary should not leave children permanently dependent on the mission house. Proclaiming the gospel to "the nation

of Papua" was the mission's work, and not creating "little protected communities of highly-developed Christians."³⁵ There did not seem to be any notion that the two ideals could be complementary.

From this clash, the idea of selecting a small segment of the population emerged as a definite distinguishing feature of Kwato. Abel's response to the deputation's ultimatum in 1916–1917 was to confront the LMS with a new kind of conflict: the education of the masses versus the education of the few. It was the first time he had raised the *elitist* banner in public:

What we have to deal with is a people . . . who in one generation have been rushed from savage conditions through the wood [sic], the stone and the iron age. . . . The only possible way . . . is for us to concentrate very special attention on a few. . . . I am convinced that the only safe plan is to do intensely and thoroughly a small piece of work and work out from that. . . . It should strengthen us to oppose the prevailing notion that you can only deal with a race like the Papuans by dealing with the whole community on equal terms. We must be prepared to combat this idea at all hazards.³⁶

In 1918 the Kwato Mission seceded from the LMS, taking with it 560 members of the church in Milne Bay. Permission was won from the Society for the mission to carry on the system of plantations and industries under an agreement with the LMS by which the property and plantations would be leased for ten years to Abel's "Kwato Extension Association." Five years after the formation of the Kwato Extension Association in London, an American auxiliary known as the New Guinea Evangelisation Society, Inc. of New York (NGES) was formed to provide stronger financial support. The auxiliary was led by Delavan L. Pierson, a missionary editor and publisher. The American society, led by Conservative Evangelicals (then becoming known as "Fundamentalists"), overtook the English Association in 1928, when the properties were purchased by the Americans from the LMS on Abel's behalf.³⁷

The death of the founder of Kwato in a road accident in England in 1930 led to some changes in organization and greater use of Papuan leaders, notable among whom were Tiraka Anederea, Osineru and Merari Dixon, Alice Wedega, and Olive Lebasi, to name a few. With the introduction of Moral Re-Armament techniques by Cecil Abel, Charles' elder son (b. 1903), the mission expanded its activities from 1934 to the Kunika area behind the island of Amau, about midway

between Kwato and Port Moresby. Goroka in the Eastern Highlands became a second Moral Re-Armament base two decades later.³⁸

The adoption of the methods of Moral Re-Armament (MRA), known before 1938 as the “Oxford Group,” has been described elsewhere.³⁹ MRA was founded by Frank Buchman, an American Lutheran. Buchman had experienced a “radical conversion” at one of the Keswick Conventions of Evangelicals in England, but did not urge any new doctrines or begin a new church. However, his movement emphasized experience rather than the atonement, as did orthodox Evangelical Christianity. Buchman summed up his aims in the “Four Absolutes”—Absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love. The Four Absolutes in turn bore the stamp of Keswick perfectionism (under God’s grace men can live perfect lives *now*).⁴⁰ Buchman made a considerable impact on students at Oxford and at Cambridge, where Cecil Abel was a student. Abel had met Buchman at an Oxford Group “house party” in the early 1920s. Following the death of his father, Cecil Abel introduced MRA methods in 1931. The propagation of MRA in Papua was hastened by an increase in overseas staff at Kwato—mainly Australians—with a sprinkling of English and American personnel. Instead of its original purpose as a family homestead, the Kwato house became a busy educational center with some twenty foreign missionaries, including a doctor, nurses, agriculturalists, an accountant, a technical teacher, and a shipbuilder. All but two of the Kwato staff were evacuated in 1942 when the island began to provide sawmilling and laundering services for the armed forces. Later still, it became a rest and recreation station for Australian and American servicemen (including American blacks) working at the “Seabee” base in China Strait. During the period of wartime and post-war reappraisal of Australian policies in Papua and New Guinea, a small number of visiting anthropologists such as H. Ian Hogbin, Lucy Mair, and Camilla Wedgwood recognized in Kwato a model for race relations,⁴¹ and Kwato was proclaimed the most successful mission in the South Pacific and an example for revived native society at large to imitate.

No study of Kwato can be complete without some reference to its millennial impact on the surrounding society. The popular movements in Melanesia known as millennial cults had their counterparts in Milne Bay, and it is likely that these were stimulated chiefly by the mission. Millennialism—a belief in the coming of a thousand years of peace and prosperity heralding the second coming of Christ—was a strand in Abel’s theological background, and his preaching about “the future” of the Papuans may be characterized as millenarian. Certainly, if Abel

may correctly be called a millennialist, he was one of quiet and calm persuasion. Signs of cult activity abound: the well-documented Tokeriu cult of Milne Bay in 1893; the "great and searching times" at Kwato in 1911, in which hundreds of island people flocked to services and "broke down and cried bitterly"; a period of religious excitement in Wagawaga in 1926; and finally, the various manifestations of Moral Re-Armament. All displayed the intertwining of Melanesian expectations with the prophetic utterances of Kwato's founder.⁴²

One link with millennialists occurred later in Abel's life. The chief supporter of the Kwato Mission in the United States after 1920, Delavan Pierson, was a son of the great late-nineteenth-century premillennialist figure Arthur T. Pierson (d. 1911). Three of Pierson's descendants spent time on Kwato, one remaining for a year as a missionary, and one of Abel's grandsons was named after Delavan Pierson. A. T. Pierson had scoffed at the idea, growing among liberal Christians, that there is a "light of Asia" as well as a Light of the World. Led by Pierson, American missionary millennialists preached their belief that God, while he intends that all shall hear the Word, intends to save only a few.⁴³

The Kwato Mission seems to have come to a peak in recognition of its achievements in the 1940s, during the period of postwar reconstruction—the "New Deal" for Papua, as it was sometimes called.⁴⁴ This acclamation was somewhat belated, as the mission by then was beginning to decline, a fact made apparent in the gradual departure of many of its protégés for Port Moresby and elsewhere. It was from a handful of students originally trained on LMS mission stations, such as Hula, Port Moresby, and Kwato, that the first Papuans were appointed to junior positions in the postwar Australian administration. Osineru Dickson from Kwato was among the first Papuan government clerks. The first Papuan members of the Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea included two from Kwato (Merari Dickson, Osineru's brother, from 1951; Alice Wedega from 1961). From Kwato came the earliest trainee nurses to enter the Papuan Medical College in 1957 and the first triple-certified sister (Dalai Maniana Farrow).⁴⁵ Kwato-trained Papuans were among the embryonic elite of Papua New Guinea during the 1950s, though they were not then particularly distinguished, by numbers or by quality, from that produced by any other organization in the territories. The appearance of a handful of students from such missions as Kwato and Hula, marked by their somewhat Anglicized manners, personal poise, and familiarity with English, was a happy minor augury for an Australian government embarrassed by evidence of tardy prog-

ress and the prospect of continued inspection by visiting delegations from the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

During the period of Australian decolonization in the 1960s, Kwato could claim a number of prominent Papuans among its former protégés. Dineh (Dickson) Lawrence entered the University of Queensland in 1963, the first female Papua New Guinean university student. A very small number of academics in Port Moresby married Kwato women; two of Charles Abel's own descendants also married Papuans.⁴⁶ The chief government town planner, Morris Alaluku, was raised on the island, as was Erna (Israel) Pita, onetime president of the National Council of Women. One of the first two Papua New Guinean barristers (Ilinome Frank Tarua) came from Kwato, as well as two Papua New Guinean diplomats after independence in 1975.⁴⁷ The steady trickle of trained leaders from Kwato engaged in "nation building" bore particular testimony, it was said, to the foresight of the founder, Charles W. Abel.⁴⁸

Finally, one member of the mission staff was prominent among "advanced" political circles in the 1960s. The role of Cecil Abel is well documented in the formation of the Pangu Pati, while both Maori Kiki and Michael Somare claim to have had their political interest fostered by Cecil Abel's political science classes at the Administrative College in Port Moresby.⁴⁹ By then, the cautious, gradualist policies that had marked Australian rule in Papua and New Guinea were being eclipsed by an acceptance of rapid political development and programs in higher education. Paradoxically, the decline of the Kwato Mission occurred at a time when the elitist policies it had pursued were tardily being accepted by Australian governments in Papua New Guinea. In 1964 the remnants of the Kwato Extension Association joined the churches of the LMS to become part of the Papua Ekalesia, which in turn became a constituent member of the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands in 1968. Sections of the Kwato Mission seceded from the United Church in 1977.

Having surveyed briefly the development of Kwato, we are in a position to consider three questions arising from Kwato's special role during the past ninety-five years. First, what did Abel and the LMS intend the Kwato Papuans to achieve in relation to the rest of Papua New Guinea? Second, what distinguished the Papuans at Kwato, before and after the Second World War, from other advanced groups fostered by Christian missions in Papua New Guinea? Third, was the Kwato group engaged, essentially, in preparing for a nation, as has been claimed? In other

words, was it a nationalist elite intended to undermine a colonial order or was it a group collaborating with it? Or was it possessed of both these attributes of "collaboration" and "opposition" at different times? In short, this article seeks to analyze the views propagated about the Kwato Papuan group by members of the Kwato household itself.

Kwato: Personalities and LMS Mission Politics

Part of the answer to the first question—what was Kwato intended to achieve?—lies in Abel's early attitude toward the other embryonic Protestant Papuan groups in colonial New Guinea. In particular, it is revealed in his response to the idea of an LMS college for advanced mission students. A "national" Papuan college had been proposed some time before Abel's arrival in 1890. In 1887 W. G. Lawes, the senior New Guinea missionary, began outlining his plan for a training institution occupying a position in New Guinea analogous to that of Malua in Samoa.⁵⁰ The language of the institution at Vatorata, inland from Kapakapa thirty-five miles east of Port Moresby, would be Motuan; from Vatorata would come a trained corps of teachers promoting "friendly, peaceful intercourse between tribes."⁵¹ As in England, wrote Lawes' colleagues at Delena, H. M. Dauncey, "the various Tribes will amalgamate and form one people and have one language. . . . if we could manage it we shall be doing very much for the future of N[ew] G[uinea]."⁵²

Ever an independent⁵³ who desired no close relationship with his brethren, Abel maintained that Papuans should not and could not be forced to learn to speak the Motuan language or to write it. Instead, he said, Papuans should be taught in their own districts in their own dialects. Two other LMS missionaries were apparently inclined to agree with him.⁵⁴ Lawes, however, had trained several Milne Bay students before Abel and Walker's arrival in New Guinea, and in spite of Abel's claims to the contrary, he knew Milne Bay teachers could master Motuan "thoroughly and quickly."⁵⁵ The coldness at Kwato was significant to Vatorata's prospects, for if the "East" were to evangelize the "West," some students would have to come from the eastern district. It did not take Lawes long to guess at the reason for Abel's intransigence: his colleague at Kwato wanted to keep all the best young men and women under his own eye.

Abel, however, did not carry his opposition to Vatorata to an outright refusal to cooperate with his brethren of the LMS New Guinea District Committee. His stipend and annual budget, after all, depended on

LMS funds, and Lawes had already criticized him as “standing much aloof” from his LMS colleagues.⁵⁶ Instead, Abel decided that discretion was the better part of valor; in October 1899 he sent five students and their wives to Vatorata, leading others to believe his attitude was changing. “He is working more in harmony and sympathy with his brethren”⁵⁷ wrote a reassured Lawes. However, though Abel thereafter continually promised to place more students among Vatorata’s annual intake, he sent no others until 1916. When the second Kwato group of five arrived, they, like their predecessors of seventeen years earlier, were found to be markedly below the educational standard required by the college, being easily outstripped by students from Fife Bay and Port Moresby. It was said that “not one” would have passed the entrance examination. On enquiry, the principal of Vatorata found that several of Abel’s students had been away from Kwato for some years, and a number were “too old” to be any longer teachable.⁵⁸ In spite of early hopes among Abel’s colleagues that Kwato’s influence would be diffused through other parts of southern New Guinea, only a trickle of the less gifted of its students were released to the central college, to be returned to China Strait after training. Kwato sent none of its “leaders” west to share with other districts the benefits of its greater endowment in LMS funds.

These discrepancies between promise and fulfillment concealed the more personal nature of Abel’s relations with his colleagues. Even within the Congregationalist ethos of the LMS, Abel’s sturdy aloofness from the rest of the mission had become a matter of conversation long before his final break with the parent society in 1918. Inheritors of the Independent system and divided by distance, Abel and Walker had followed James Chalmers’ reckless example in ignoring requests to come to order.⁵⁹ A visitor said that in New Guinea, unlike Samoa or Rarotonga, each LMS missionary was “a law unto himself,” and the financial liberties of the mission were notorious. Kwato infringed the rules of the LMS more than other stations. Abel chafed beneath the restrictions of the LMS Green Book and the District Committee. He had moved originally from Suau to Kwato on 10 August 1891 without permission. He had engaged two hundred men to drain a swamp at Kwato and for five years haggled with R. W. Thompson, foreign secretary of the Society, over the cost.⁶⁰ In erecting the Kwato house he had presented the LMS with costs considerably higher than the £300 customarily provided for headstation buildings. He ordered stores from London without authority.⁶¹ He twice failed to attend District Committee meetings even when elected chairman. “Our friend Abel” wrote R. W. Thompson with a

touch of nervousness, "is a splendid missionary, but he is a very unsafe adviser of matters of order and Regulation."⁶² At other times the LMS foreign secretary harshly condemned Abel and Walker for "irregular, not to say lawless" violations.⁶³ Walker felt driven to resign from the mission in 1896, largely for spending LMS funds without sanction on the thirty-two-ton mission vessel *Olive Branch*. In 1901 the appearance of Abel's book *Savage Life in New Guinea* aroused comment from his colleagues.⁶⁴ Apart from a chapter on Chalmers, there was little reference in the book to indicate that any other LMS missionaries besides Abel were at work in New Guinea.

In retrospect, the explanation offered by the mission for the break between Kwato and the LMS was that it was caused by a philosophical conflict—concentration on the few versus teaching the many—and by finance, simply because the Society was unable to pay for Abel's schemes. But the relations between Abel and his colleagues in Papua were widely different from the cordial ones portrayed in mission publications. The opposition to Kwato, heightened by conflicts in personality, stemmed from a belief within the Society that while teaching a useful industry was legitimate for missionaries, engaging in commerce was not. Abel declared that his commercial ventures, which gave employment to Papuan Christians, were the unfolding of "God's plan." Other members of the London Christian missions in Papua distrusted Abel's insistence as to the source of his inspiration. Far from being God's plan, they said, commercial ventures were merely a weapon in Abel's hands "[to] enable him to bring all his influence as a Missionary, and that of his Teachers, into competition with other traders."⁶⁵ In London Abel's arguments for his schemes were carried into the LMS boardroom by carefully rehearsed confederates who rose at crucial moments to throw the opposition into disarray. One of these, Abel's friend Arthur Porritt, invited the administrator of Papua to eulogize Abel's work before the Board.⁶⁶

The marshalling of support for Kwato barely concealed the emotional currents running against Abel in the Papua District Committee. Among many field agents in Papua, Abel was regarded as arbitrary, unreliable, and incapable of working with others. He had monopolized common facilities, kept the *Olive Branch* five months at a time while other stations waited for the ship,⁶⁷ and dug deeply into the Angas industrial grant at the expense of other industrial stations. He was alienated from his colleagues J. B. Clark, W. N. Lawrence, and R. L. Turner on personal grounds. "It's all very well, Abel, but is it fair?"⁶⁸ was one colleague's grievance, which others swelled to a chorus. A pri-

vate letter from the missionary E. Pryce Jones to his English fiancée is revealing:

The J[ohn] W[illiams] will be within three days of Sydney, with Dr and Mrs Lawes on board also Mr and Mrs Abel who are on their way home; by the bye, don't put yourself out of the way to meet these latter, as you may get snubbed they are peculiar, will explain when we meet. I don't know them personally & have not seen them but they have been grit in the eye of the mission, this is just a word of warning. . . .⁶⁹

Quite apart from differences in principle about Papuan education, Abel had long been estranged from the majority of his colleagues when the LMS deputation arrived from London in 1915. Financial retrenchment was one reason for the deputation's decision to curtail the Kwato scheme. But Abel's aloofness toward Vatorata, hardened by personal estrangement and confirmed by his working for twenty years at variance with LMS rules, were all ingredients. Even before the LMS deputation declared its proper goal was to reach "the nation of Papua" rather than build up "little protected communities of highly-trained Christians," its secretary confided that the visit was years too late, as affairs in Papua were beyond control. For twenty-five years the greatest amount of mission wealth had been lavished on plantations in Milne Bay and on what R. L. Turner described as the "pocket-sized handkerchief" station at Kwato. Though an average of 120 youths had been permanent residents at the station from 1891, at the time of Kwato's secession not a single Papuan from Kwato was at work in any other part of Papua. As an LMS colleague wrote, the large monetary outlay upon Abel had not been justified. "The matter is purely local, and were it closed down tomorrow, it would only affect his own young people."⁷⁰

Finally, it is worth quoting the reaction of C. F. Rich, Abel's nearest LMS neighbor, as typical of private LMS reflections on the secession of Kwato:

The proposals are unfair to the future of LMS work in Papua, for the Society has a right to expect that from one of the oldest, and best equipped, districts in the Country there should be increasingly available a stream of young men and women who would volunteer for training at the Mission College, [for] work among the still unenlightened and poorly served Districts in the West.⁷¹

What, then, were the Kwato Papuans intended to achieve in relation to the rest of Papua? Between the LMS and the founder of Kwato, there was no united answer. By 1918, the missionaries of the LMS in Papua had come to express collectively the views held privately during the preceding ten years, that some of the endowments of the richest station on the mission should be placed at the disposal of the "underprivileged" remainder of the country; that the interests of Papua as a whole should be made paramount; and that the part should be submitted to the interests of the whole. By contrast, the evidence suggests that in spite of the publicity about saving a race that flowed from Abel's pen, he was unable to sink the parochial concerns of his station in a common task. At the end of forty years in Papua, no plans existed at Kwato to share the peculiar assets of Kwato with others. Throughout Abel's career in Papua, he and his LMS colleagues were sadly at cross-purposes.

A Self-Defining Elite

Having questioned the claim that the Kwato group was intended by its leader to work for the whole of Papua, we are now in a position to answer the question, what distinguished the Papuan group at Kwato from other elites in the South Pacific at the time? The notion of an elite, as S. F. Nadel says, refers to "a stratum of the population which, for whatever reason, can claim a position of superiority and influence over the community's fate."⁷² Further, Nadel held that an elite "must have some degree of corporateness, group character and exclusiveness." This description aptly applies to the small coteries of government employees along the Papuan coast, such as members of the Armed Native Constabulary. It may also be used of the families of the Papuan priests, pastors, and teachers belonging to the various missions.⁷³

Superficially, Kwato might appear to belong among these coteries of partly westernized Papuans, but in essential respects it differed markedly from them. Its rationale was derived from a distinctive theology that divided it sharply from all other groups of Papuans, Christian or otherwise: it was marked by an intense concentration on a few. Concentration stemmed, in part at least, from Abel's hostile attitude toward indigenous cultures, a combination of personal revulsion and the belief that in its weakness Papuan culture could not withstand the incursions of European civilization. But concentration arose also from the doctrine of election. Abel believed without doubt that he was in direct communion with God. Allusions by Beatrice, by himself, and his supporters led by Pierson, to "the remnant," "the appointed task," "election of God,"

and “the chosen few”⁷⁴ point to the individual’s personal election by God. (Elite: choice, select, flower of society.)⁷⁵ Abel himself had already had the experience of being saved, and there were other crises confirming his beliefs. The differentiation of Abel’s picked Papuan group from the mass of Melanesian people was sharpened by practical reasoning: it was folly to return mission children to a heathen environment. But it arose in the first instance from Abel’s religious belief: the Lord’s children *were* different; they were *already* sealed for heaven. The concern of the Kwato Mission with social action was compatible with such pre-destinarianism, residual and partly secularized though it may have been. For the only way in which an individual could give an answer to the question, “Am I saved?” or “Am I among the elect?” was by scrutinizing his own behavior carefully to see whether he did in fact bring forth good works worthy of salvation. Nadel’s definition, with its emphasis on “group character” and “exclusiveness,” applies to Kwato with special force.

Undoubtedly beliefs essentially Calvinist in origin (though perhaps partly secularized) were psychologically helpful in meeting the various crises of the Kwato Mission in the 1920s. The delivery of an annual land rental of £350 to the LMS landlord from 1919⁷⁶ depended on a stable price for copra (practically the sole source of income for the mission), but there was a slump in copra prices from the end of World War I and thereafter prices were subject to the vagaries of the international commodity market. In the ten years of the lease Kwato was unable to pay the bulk of its rentals to the LMS. But during the period of intense difficulty that Abel had with the Society between 1924 and 1927, when it seemed that Kwato might lose its plantations, the leader did not betray desperation, but rather a renewed confidence—even a slight elation—which arose from a feeling of power over his enemies. “The secretary of the LMS [Lenwood] knows . . . he can no more harm [us] with all his subtle methods than Pharoah could stay the Exodus of the Ch[ildren] of Israel from Egypt” he wrote.⁷⁷ A confident sense of being “chosen” from the mass of Melanesians, a certainty of victory in the face of overwhelming setbacks, gave the Kwato leader and his followers a calmness in the face of adversity. “Faith is a grand adventure. It has no element of speculation about it,” he wrote to one of his sons, “because you win every time.”⁷⁸

The doctrine of election, then, was crucial to an understanding of the difference between Kwato and other missionary groups. A small group would be saved: they would move forward in stages to the “Promised Land,” a phrase often used by Abel. But Abel’s residual Calvinism also

derived energy from an evolutionist outlook. Progress, in the way that Europe, and particularly Britain, had experienced it, was inexorable; only those races who adapted to its march would survive. Thus the notion permeating his writing, that savagery was disappearing before the march of civilization, and that Papuan culture was too weak to withstand European civilization, was confirmed by the belief that a special Providence guards the elect. The movement of God's children in the wilderness—an extension of Abel's own uncertain status as a library clerk desiring upward social mobility—mirrored his own personal pilgrimage. The Kwato Papuans' success, and his own, would one day be unfolded as the vindication of God's purposes for them all, as the "Kwato Family" in Papua. Thus Abel's vision for his "elite" combined theological and practical considerations, for they were not only the elect of God, but the future leaders of their countrymen.

For the present, however, the leaders needed protection from their countrymen within the mission house. As stated earlier, the most evident sign differentiating Kwato from other elites in Papua was the intense concentration of resources upon a few Papuans led by one man and his household. Visitors noticed the affection of the Papuan people on Kwato for the founder and his children; the generally happy atmosphere of the island; the "crowds of beautiful babies and children, large numbers of men and women," and all "devoted" to the Abel family.⁷⁹ Further, they observed the sedan chairs by which Europeans were carried up the hill—eight boys to each chair. Travelers on ships were "amazed" by the hundreds of bonfires lit along several miles of coast whenever "Father," as Abel was called, returned from fund-raising tours overseas. When Father traveled after one such triumphal return, it was on a sixty-foot canoe carved in his honor by Pilipo of Barabara—his "state barge" as he jocularly called it—paddled by eighteen Tavara men.⁸⁰ He normally traveled by launch or whaleboat.

Thus the beginnings of a new Papuan group took shape under the aegis of a mission. With a leader possessing a keen eye for their eventual destiny as equals of the white man, they played cricket against Europeans in Samarai, in Port Moresby (once, in 1929), and on the home field at Kwato.⁸¹ They possessed a more "educated demeanour" and differed sharply in appearance from the "shock-headed heathen."⁸² Among them, the influence of the leader was paramount. Father introduced the orphans and other children to the island, controlled their discipline, organized their sports, conducted their services, and appointed leaders in consultation with his *tanuaga*. An American visitor who stayed a year on Kwato in 1927 observed of its founder, "He was essentially a *home*

man. The centre of its life, its priest, its head, its example. The prime mover in its religious life and also keen in promoting fun and good times. . . . superintending the work on many different jobs, he always reminded me of a general.”⁸³

Through the dependence of Papuans on Abel's guidance in economic and religious affairs, the Kwato Mission by 1930 had assumed a number of functions characteristic of a semi-independent political domain. Its Papuan officers or *tanuaga* helped organize its industries; its congregations elected their own deacons. Kwato-trained people sang their own anthem (“Father, the light has come to us”) and celebrated Father's birthday (25 September) with an annual holiday.⁸⁴ Its economy was based on plantation and workshop profits augmented by an annual government subsidy for industrial schools. It depended also on heavy injections of aid from American friends, amounting to U.S.\$140,000 in the nineteen years up to 1942. From the late 1920s, the Stars and Stripes fluttered at the masthead on Kwato to welcome visitors from America.⁸⁵

Abel's personal leadership up to the time of his death, however, gave Papuan leaders limited scope to nurture their own talents. A small incident serves to illustrate the power of that leadership. Traveling home on the *Morinda* to China Strait from one fund-raising tour, Abel learned by ship's wireless that his return was affecting the Papuans at Samarai to such an extent that shipping agents could not obtain sufficient manpower to discharge the cargo. He wrote,

It was evident that my return was affecting the labour market and I relieved the captain's mind by promising to send help as soon as my welcome was over. . . . Within half an hour of landing I was in my own boat, and twenty minutes later I landed on my own jetty amidst the deafening cheers of people . . . from all parts of the district. They had asked permission to come and see for themselves that I had really returned.⁸⁶

Adherents of Kwato were able on occasion to thwart the servants of the government as well as those of commerce. Officers conducting a census of Milne Bay after World War I were unable to continue their work on the days fixed for the survey because so many villagers had left for Kwato.⁸⁷ During his first patrol in Milne Bay in 1919, H. O. Topal, a young Australian officer, observed that “a large number of natives here regard the mission as ahead of the government in importance”; that the mission's Papuan agents did not “help the government” as mis-

sions did elsewhere in Papua. He told the Wagawaga people that he would deal very severely with them if they attempted again to disobey their instructions.⁸⁸ The truth is that in the environs of Kwato, as in other Pacific missions, there were two sources of authority, each tending to suspect activity by the other as an incursion into its own field. Abel believed, probably rightly, that some magistrates were jealous of his influence on the Papuans.⁸⁹ Indeed, the census incidents of 1919–1922 recall earlier tensions caused by the government within the Kwato Mission, a patrol having been reported once by Abel: “A part of my district [sic] has been raided by government authority. . . .”⁹⁰ The tension created by the proximity of a rival source of authority at Samarai appears to have intensified the personal sway of Kwato’s leader over his followers.

It is significant also that Abel was described above as a “priest” as well as “general.” For, with Kwato assuming some functions characteristic of a semi-independent political domain, spiritual as well as secular control remained in his hands. The mission differed in this respect, too, from other Christian missions in the Pacific, with their embryonic ministerial elites. The Papuan leaders at Kwato were not a trained religious intelligentsia in the making. On the contrary, the ordained ministry of Papuans was dispensed with altogether at Kwato, in spite of the founder’s declared aim of creating a self-supporting Papuan church. In part, this revealed the strength of Abel’s disapproval of the patriarchal Polynesian pastors from Samoa who occupied the district outstations from 1892 to 1917, and whose relations with Abel were never free from tension.⁹¹ A Nonconformist who suspected the pretensions of a clerical caste was easily persuaded to do away with a specific order of ministers altogether. Instead, his preachers were lay evangelists who did “personal work” among Papuans.

The consequence of this rejection was that the sacramental functions of the Kwato Mission were performed by the founder himself and, after his death, by his male descendants. Kwato’s Papuans were regarded as capable tradesmen with reliable Christian characters, and as good women community leaders.⁹² They were not trained theologically or ordained. In turn, the lay status of Kwato Papuans prevented their sharing in the prestige of European sacramental or clerical rank. This wholesale reform drew criticism from one of Abel’s closest allies in the LMS, H. P. Schlencker of Kalaigolo, who remarked that all strong churches from the time of St. Paul had required an intellectually equipped leadership.⁹³ The sole possession of esoteric knowledge in the hands of a single European could only have been diminished the

Papuan leaders "standing as big men." There was no Louis Vangeke or Rauv Henao in eastern Papua.⁹⁴ It left a legacy: while the secular elite of Kwato in the 1950s—the nurses, lawyers, and other public servants—were becoming more specialized, the sacred elite remained primitive and untrained. (Following reunion with the United Church in 1964, Kwato began to accept trained ministers, and the Reverends Tuata Joseph and Naba Bore in 1971 became the first Kwato students to be ordained in half a century.) Since the Papuans remained at Kwato and on its outstations in Milne Bay, all areas controlled by Europeans, the question should be asked whether they were an elite at all.

Lastly, it may be asked whether the Christian group at Kwato differed from other mission elites in the quality of their educational advancement, in being more advanced intellectually. Dame Alice We-dega has echoed the claim that Kwato was "the most advanced of the mission schools in Papua."⁹⁵ There can be no doubt that Kwato nurtured a stream of talented artisans and craftsmen. By 1928 the mission had produced twenty-three trained joiners and carpenters;⁹⁶ a small team of boatbuilders who competed for commercial contracts against European slipways; and a printer, Daniel Sioni, who produced occasional issues of the mission's journal, the *Kwato Mission Tidings*.⁹⁷ Nor is there any doubt that, like other missionaries, Abel aspired to the evolving of Papuan lay leaders. A visitor to the mission in 1920 was undoubtedly echoing the ideas of his host in foreseeing the day when Kwato would give "an advanced education to an English-speaking people." Abel was giving medical training to junior hospital orderlies and spoke in the 1920s of Papuan surgeons. Occasionally he launched into roseate visions: Papuans could master their lessons so well, in first aid and other skills, that he was sure they could one day "pass on, stage by stage, to a university." But, he added, he was not possessed of any "mad idea" that the Papuan could be made the equal of the white man in a generation.⁹⁸

Aspiring to produce an intelligentsia in the distant future was one thing; performance was another and indeed it seemed to contradict Abel's views at an earlier stage. For the founder of Kwato had originally been pessimistic as to the ability of "the Papuan." This pessimism as to the Papuan intellectual capacity was a stated rationale for the early industrial ventures of the mission. In his view, purely intellectual and religious exercises, effective among sophisticated Samoans, were beyond the mental capacity of Melanesians. His beliefs were parallel in this respect to those of Sir Hubert Murray, lieutenant governor of Papua in 1909–1940. Murray's widely circulated judgment was that, while the

best Papuans were superior to the worst Europeans, as a whole Europeans seemed to have an innate intellectual superiority over Papuans. Abel's view of the Papuan intellect bears an interesting comparison. "The Papuan occupies a place so low in the scale of humanity that such a thing as ostracism for a religious belief is out of the question," Abel had said in 1903. "*It is the poverty of the material we have to work upon* in a country like this which creates the need for an industrial auxiliary to our Mission. . . . Our wish is often father to the thought, that the people amongst whom we live are more advanced than they actually are."⁹⁹ In consequence, the field of technical education was the one that Abel had long believed fitted Papuans the best, and he had always believed that Papuans were being taught wrongly by other missions.

Exploring the possibility of a government subsidy for Papuan education after World War I, the government of Papua decided that practical training with an elementary kind of literacy as was provided at Kwato was what was wanted. Sir Hubert Murray not only shared Abel's pessimism as to the Papuans' intellectual abilities, but knew of the poor prospects for Papuan or European employment in the depressed conditions of the 1920s. The idea of government support for mission schools was to make better agriculturalists and artisans out of the Papuans and provide a modicum of elementary literacy, not to produce an intelligentsia or elite. Kwato was a major beneficiary of the program. As a Kwato missionary explained it, "The girls are accomplished in all branches of domestic work. Some of them will be teachers, others nurses or seamstresses. . . . The boys will be apprenticed as boatbuilders, carpenters, blacksmiths or storekeepers."¹⁰⁰ Thus subsidized, Kwato continued to provide technical training, with a nod in the direction of the three R's.¹⁰¹

Because of Kwato's estrangement from the LMS, and because Abel rarely visited other parts of Papua, he was not well informed on LMS efforts in the classroom. For example, he visited the headstation at Mailu only once in nineteen years, and Vatorata once in ten years, and then "only for a few minutes."¹⁰² In 1929, however, Abel accompanied the Kwato XI to Port Moresby to challenge a European cricket team. There some of his team visited the LMS school at Hanuabada. At the Hanuabada school Abel's elder son Cecil was able to compare the attainments of Kwato students with those of the Port Moresby students, who were taken "to the highest Government standard." Cecil Abel reflected, "If we had one big village of 2000, as they have at Hanuabada, we could concentrate and see results in a short time" in the village schools; but the scattered population in Milne Bay was the "one great

problem" of Kwato. However, they were hoping "things [would] go ahead a great deal faster" when a properly trained teacher arrived.

Abel's son concluded that, while many of the leaders at Kwato "do not show scholastic ability, they probably give evidence of gifts in other directions." If scholastic standards fell short of those at Port Moresby, at least Kwato could aim "to give these boys and girls the best all-round education that has yet been given to any Papuan."¹⁰³ The mission aimed at a broad general training, emphasizing character and craftsmanship as well as basic literacy, rather than the instilling of literacy or numeracy at an intermediate or "high school" level. At its peak, the Kwato industrial school enrolled some fifty trainees,¹⁰⁴ but no government inspector reported that Kwato classrooms exceeded any other Papuan schools in educational proficiency, as might have been expected in a mission whose Papuan leadership was claimed to be the "most advanced" in the country. On the contrary, Kwato seems to have lagged behind at least two other LMS schools in its formal educational standards. Taking the colony's mission schools as a whole, it appears that the performance of Kwato's protégés ranked in the middle of the range rather than at the bottom or the top.¹⁰⁵

Nationalists or Collaborators?

Finally, was the Kwato Christian group under Abel engaged, essentially, in preparing the soil for a nation-state? It has been said that the founder of Kwato "looked forward to the time when Papua would be a self governing nation." And further, that "he believed the time would come when Papuans would have to . . . assume the responsibility for running their own country."¹⁰⁶ We may ask, however, whether the group was in fact intended to collaborate with European settlers in prolonging colonial rule rather than assume control themselves; and whether this collaboration, with Papuans as followers rather than leaders, remained long after the Second World War, ending only with the onset of Australian withdrawal from Papua New Guinea in the early 1960s. Did Kwato's founder, far from envisaging a self-governing nation, look forward to an indefinite future for Papua as a settler enclave, dominated by white advisors, and politically dependent on a metropolitan power, Australia, as proxy for Britain?

There is no satisfactory study showing what kind of understanding Papuans and New Guineans had of the concepts of "nation" and "nationalism" before self-government. The term nationalism is used here as defined by H. Seton-Watson: "an organized political move-

ment, designed to further the alleged aims and interests of nations," with the declared aim of independence or the creation of a sovereign state.¹⁰⁷ This, as Seton-Watson says, is largely the work of small, educated political elites.

That the founder of Kwato "looked forward to the time when Papua would be a self-governing nation" is a broad general assertion that invites scrutiny. There is no doubt that at times the founder pondered his own dominance over Papuans and wondered how some authority could be delegated to them—in itself far short of allowing them ultimate responsibility. He noted the criticism from the missiologist Roland Allen that field missionaries tended to "dig in" and keep control away from their converts. Thus, he once wrote, "Is it not time that they [Papuans at Kwato] were allowed more independence than they have had hitherto? How can we give them more, and what form should it take?"¹⁰⁸

Experiments were tried from time to time with Papuan "children" or "prefects" but with scant success, in Abel's view; and this may have reinforced his paternal vigilance. For by 1918, the leaders of the *Isibaguna* or first generation, the girls' prefect Edidai and Josia Lebasi the boys' head prefect, were dead. In spite of their early promise, both had died from a form of psychosis, Josia being "a sad burden" by 1913.¹⁰⁹ The second generation replacing them appeared to Abel to lack the sterling qualities possessed by their elders. The three leading workmen of the second generation, Saevaru, Gogo Tukononu, and Tiraka Anederea, sometimes astonished visitors with their abilities, or alternatively "gave a lot of trouble," with their work "badly done."¹¹⁰ In the circumstances, Charles and Beatrice Abel did not underestimate the time it would take for their leaders to mature. They had definite schemes for the succession of their own children to authority over the mission, but they had no plans for any succession of Papuans: they left the future vague. They liked their Papuans, but stopped short of delegating them much authority. "You would smile at the stupid muddles that they make," wrote Beatrice Abel, and she went on to voice an attitude common among white settlers in tropical colonies: "I say if there is a loophole for a mistake to occur they go carefully into it."¹¹¹ Her husband's diaries suggest that he was often chagrined by the Papuans' fumbling attempts to imitate him. "How absolutely incapable these people are of being put in charge of responsible positions," he wrote in 1924.¹¹²

The incident that provoked this outburst was serious: a storeman, Tariowai, had knocked a thief unconscious with a block of wood, apparently to apprehend him, before calling in the magistrate. More

often, however, it was weakness of command rather than rashness that exasperated him. Abel admitted being barely under control when the deacon Bugelei of Vasaloni complained of his people, "I've tried to speak. They will not listen." A teacher, Philip Bagi, explained that at Kwato "I blow the whistle and not one boy turns up, and so I don't call them, because they all hear . . . it is hard work."¹¹³ There is evidence that when Abel expressed a high estimate of Papuan technical ability it was based on a few individuals like Lebasi, Saevaru, and Ou; but when he had to deal with a greater number he was inclined to be even more pessimistic than were other Europeans. The Papuan leaders' quick resort to violence in one or two cases and the weakness of others provide a clue to Abel's reluctance to place unbridled power in Papuan hands. In 1924 he came to believe that Papuans were best as middlemen rather than as leaders: "No native is equal to the job. No native has the authority to enforce laws. . . . Give us a white supervisor to every 25 and we could make a fine race of the Papuans, but it will never be accomplished in any other way."¹¹⁴ His idyllic hopes for future Papuan leaders were often tempered by acute skepticism. "It will take a few generations before any Papuan will shoulder heavy responsibility," he wrote, "or exert authority even over a small boy." He had already said that traditional village elders were often weak, giving out their wishes in an apologetic tone of voice, and merely suggesting an instruction. "I trust I may live to see the day when at Kwato and [the hill station at] Duabo we have enough white help to relieve the Papuan Tanuagas of all primary oversight," he wrote. "As under-overseers they will do well, but the authority must for many years be in the hands of white leaders."¹¹⁵ Like other missionaries of his time, Abel was capable of euphemisms in public about the Papuan discharge of responsibility, but in private he came close to believing that the Papuan would be a calamity as a leader. Accordingly he became a custodian who carried the idea of trusteeship over the Papuans into all his activities.

It is worth returning, briefly, to the descriptions of the Milne Bay people as "docile" or "gentle" or "mild," which appeared in visitors' accounts from the time of John Moresby's pioneering voyage in 1873.¹¹⁶ Abel's casual remarks about poor leadership qualities came at a time when there was no reason for Papuan leaders to supplant Europeans. Descriptions of the Kwato Papuans before 1930 as "servants" in the private correspondence of the Abel family are as common as the retrospective claim to have been turning out "leaders"¹¹⁷ To visitors in the 1920s, as shown above, Kwato gave the appearance of a well-ordered mission estate producing good mechanics and useful female assistants. As Bea-

trice Abel's father (a small English brewer who had emigrated to Australia) wrote to his daughter at Kwato, "You ought to be *truly thankful* for your native girls and boys—You could not get any servants equal to them—They do as they are told and never give you 'cheek' like the Australian servants do."¹¹⁸

Abel himself had referred to Samoan teachers as servants.¹¹⁹ When asked by a correspondent whether he made a practice of eating with his converts, Abel pictured himself in the position of a Papuan, saying no distress could equal that of a Papuan attempting to eat with a European. He compared his sitting down to dine with a Papuan with the spectacle of a nineteenth-century English gentleman eating with his coachman.¹²⁰ Such illustrations of his relationships are not easily compatible with later claims to have been turning out Papuan leaders.

On Abel's death at the age of fifty-eight in 1930 and the return of his four children from England to resume childhood relationships with a "second generation" of Papuan converts, the Kwato Mission appears to have mellowed in an atmosphere of sporting and religious camaraderie. Visitors to Kwato were sometimes struck by the spirit of friendly racial inclusiveness on the island.¹²¹ Certainly it is true that lacking a formal religious hierarchy, the mission's headquarters developed, in the decade after Abel's death, a sense of corporate identity as the "Kwato Family." But by that time the Papuans were well assimilated into European ways. As Camilla Wedgwood notes in 1947, there was a strong tendency for Kwato's Papuans to intermarry.¹²² Leaders such as Tiraka Anederea as well as the Dickson and Sioni families were able to participate in close relations with the white mission staff by virtue of their lifelong cultivation of English manners.

Beyond the circle of privileged Papuans who lived on the island were the bulk of the people less affected by European influence. Village people living on mission outskirts were not excluded altogether, but they were unable to benefit properly from the knowledge and wealth that had been concentrated on the Kwato circle. Not surprisingly, one result of an intense concentration of resources upon an assimilated group at the center was to foster tension on the periphery of the district. As the anthropologist C. S. Belshaw noted after living for some months in a Kwato village in Milne Bay five years after the Pacific War,

The Mission has been unable to avoid deep psychological and social strain. In few places in Melanesia can the cleavage between elite and villager be more pronounced, the sense of superiority over other Missions and pagans be more marked, or

the jealousy which accompanies movements for social and individual betterment more sharp.¹²³

Belshaw also observed that in the community of Ware just beyond the borders of the Kwato district, there had been time to adjust to social change; here, none of the same strains were present. The camaraderie and fraternal intimacy at the mission's headquarters (made possible because all lived in the same acknowledged milieu), seems to have been accompanied by jealousy and friction in the rest of the Kwato district.

Following World War II, the Kwato Europeans, like other missionaries and administrators, felt an anxiety over the appearance of signs of nationalism in Papua and New Guinea and the manifestation of Maasina Rule in the Solomons. Russell W. Abel, second son of the founder, was openly dismayed by the attempts of some Papuans to gain autonomy in the 1940s, writing in an official circular letter:

Most coloured races today would appear to want to kick out the white man. . . . In the post-war reaction the "Papua for the Papuans" sentiment has been a frequent symptom. It still breaks out.

Then Abel went on:

We have to counter this with the greater conception of the partnership of Papuan and European that we try to demonstrate in the mixed family life at Kwato.

This quotation clearly epitomizes Abel's attitude toward the Papuans—an attitude held by his father, Charles Abel, and by most Europeans as well. None of them doubted that one day Papuans would be ready for a share in the government of their country; but for the present, as Abel's father believed, it was virtually impossible for the black man to raise himself by his bootstraps without guidance from the white man.

Addressing his Papuan readers in the same postwar circular, Russell Abel declared that "in working for whites [a Papuan] could actually help his country." Indeed, he wrote, "by working well and proving yourself capable and trustworthy, you can turn your white 'Boss' into a friend of Papua." This was symptomatic of the influence of Moral Re-Armament in helping Kwato to reappraise its image. For it is clear that a fundamental change in the nature of MRA's worldwide activities occurred after World War II: its strategy was modified, and it placed

greater emphasis on “remaking the world” than on individual salvation. The political instability and the process of decolonization in Asia and Africa following the war gave MRA an opportunity which, in turn, affected Kwato. Modifying its revivalist terminology, MRA at Kwato ranged itself on the side of democratic capitalism. Russell Abel went on, “Successful, economic running of a [European] plantation depends on human relations, on a co-operative willing labour line” (i.e., willing Papuan laborers). He concluded, “No one can help us forward as much as the Europeans, with their store of knowledge, who have come to love our country. . . . Papuans and Europeans working together could make this country a different place.”¹²⁴

It might be argued that this was a sound and pragmatic response to the stirrings of nationalism appropriate to the time and place. But it highlights the difference between assimilating a small group of Papuans within a European-dominated society and applying self-determination to the Papuan people *as a whole*. It is inappropriate to describe the head of any Christian mission before 1930 as “looking forward” to an independent, self-governing Papua with its own “black governor,” or toward the Melanesians “assuming responsibility” for running a Papuan nation.¹²⁵ Far from looking forward to an independent nation-state, the writings of Charles and Russell Abel may be construed, without straining, as implicitly anti-nationalist.

The Kwato Mission never became a force that could be described as disposed toward Papuan self-government, even within its own organization, within a measurable time. Its founder does not seem to have foreseen any such transition: indeed, quite the opposite is the case. Abel laid no plans for the releasing of his lands to his Papuan dependants. On the contrary, he spent much time and energy in trying to guarantee an indefinite hold over the organization and its lands by himself and his family.

* * * *

Two assertions have been considered here. One, that “Kwato was the most advanced of the mission schools in Papua,” appears to need major qualification. The other, that its founder “looked forward to the time when Papua would be a self-governing nation,” seems dubious. As has been shown, the dominant note in Abel’s activities was a parochial rather than “national” concern. His public writings about making Kwato available for the rest of Papua, or about Papuan qualities of leadership, were his most ambivalent and least detailed.

After the Pacific War, Kwato failed to hold the more independent of its Papuan converts of the third generation, who broke away entirely and joined those who had stayed in Port Moresby after the war. In the villages of Milne Bay they were an elite, a chosen few. But it would be a misnomer to describe Kwato people in Port Moresby and other towns as "the future leaders of their countrymen." They would be more accurately characterized, even in the 1950s, as only one among a number of advancing groups from several Christian missions. The very number of mission-run, post-primary training institutions gives some notion of the volume of Papuans outside Kwato receiving further education: in the Territory of New Guinea alone before World War II the missions were in charge of some seventy-nine post-primary establishments.¹²⁶ With the political or religious hindsight provided in the Kwato Mission's history, however, it is scarcely surprising that the Kwato Papuans taught by Charles W. Abel had come to think of themselves as unique. Being the Elect of God, they were an elite different, indeed, from all other groups in Papua New Guinea.

They may have been of the Elect, but in fact the few Kwato Papuans who became clerks and typists in Port Moresby before the 1960s were restricted to a relatively narrow range of occupations. Some Kwato protégés were caught up in the public service of the emerging nation: others were sought after merely as servants by the European residents of the town.¹²⁷ The rapid transition to self-government after this period inevitably favored Papuans and New Guineans from those areas such as Port Moresby, Samarai, and Rabaul with a long history of culture contact. That a few of the Kwato people in the 1960s were elevated by further education to higher positions was a result of an accident—an acceleration in the timetable of Australian decolonization.

Abel's "Promised Land" was not specifically a national, independent state. It was a house of many mansions, and could have been consistent with a seventh-state nexus between Australia and Papua. Or, because of Abel's planting interests and his desire to make his family indispensable, it could have fitted into a "settler government" as in parts of east Africa, sharing some of its power with the original inhabitants of the soil, but without the widespread exclusion from the land of the black masses as occurred in such settler governments as Rhodesia.¹²⁸ The founder of Kwato, it could be argued, was building an "empire," which created a greater dependence on him than did the labors of other missionaries who had no private property to defend.

To reiterate, the effort and ingenuity expended by Abel in order to guarantee the succession of his own family were not those of a man who

was planning for a Papuan mission functioning independently of Europeans, any more than for an independent nation, if it prejudiced his own descendants' stake in the land. Rather, his "Promised Land" was one in which his family and their assimilated Papuans shared a common inheritance. Its weakness was that self-interest seems to have determined much of Abel's planning, for the founder of Kwato was a businessman as well as a missionary.¹²⁹ Its failure was precisely the same as that of other missions in colonial Papua: its reliance on the personality of the European leader and belated trust in the value of Papuan initiative. In 1944, fifty years after the mission began, the young Papuan leader Olive Lebasi disclosed some of the results in a letter to Abel's elder daughter Phyllis:

There are [sic] a lot of dependence at Kwato in the past, especially with us as Papuan Tanuagases [leaders]. This has been a weakness in the past and today we cannot grow or stand on our own feet and depend on God to guide us for any responsibility. The result is today . . . we can't do without your help.¹³⁰

The Londoner who became the founder of the Kwato mission in Papua New Guinea took few steps toward answering the problems posed by his life's work. For, in spite of Abel's evolutionist outlook and his half-believed optimism about Papuan ability, he seems never to have made up his mind whether he was shaping a Papuan bourgeois elite within a European-dominated society, or merely raising a group of respectful artisans who lived as tenants on a tropical manorial estate. But his mission fulfilled some of its goals: the creation of a Christian community with new aspirations, and the nurture of men and women who could survive under the conditions of the modern world.

NOTES

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1. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 29 October 1891, Papua Letters (hereafter PL), LMS, National Library of Australia.
2. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 1 March 1901, PL; C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 21 June 1911, PL.
3. C. W. Abel to B. Abel, London, 2 April 1930, Abel Papers (hereafter AP), University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG); Kwato Annual Report 1920, AP. The population of the district was estimated at 4,000 in 1907; the American supporters' estimate of "10,000 followers" in the Bay and at Abau, made in 1942, is certainly an exaggeration. *Kwato Mission Tidings* no. 40 (New York, 1942), 1; Edward Smith and A. N. Johnson, *Deputation to Australasia September 1907–February 1908* (London, n.d.), 43.
4. C. W. Abel, Diary (?), 17 [July] 1904, AP.
5. L. H. Fishel and B. Quarles, *The Black American: A Documentary History* (Glenview, Illinois, 1970), 342.
6. Candidates' Papers: Abel, LMS, quoted in Diane Langmore, "European Missionaries in Papua: A Group Portrait 1874–1914," unpublished Ph.D. thesis (ANU, 1981), p. 77.
7. M. J. Stone-Wigg, Diary, 13 October 1897, New Guinea Collection, UPNG.
8. W. E. Armstrong, *Report on the Suau-Tawala Anthropology Report No. 1* (Port Moresby, 1921), 26.
9. H. L. Murray, *Territory of Papua Sailing Directions* (Port Moresby, 1930), 21.
10. Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (London, 1967), 44–45.
11. B. Abel to M. Parkin, Port Moresby, 13 February 1894, AP.
12. The name "Massim," apparently a Woodlarkers' name for the people of Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux archipelagos, seems to have been first used by the Marist missionary Carlo Salerio in 1862; it was also used in E. T. Hamy, "Etude sur les Papuas," in *Revue d'Ethnographie* 7 (1889), 504. It was used by C. G. Seligmann in 1910 to describe the Papuan island and mainland people between Cape Nelson and Orangerie Bay. C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea, with a Chapter by F. R. Barton, C.M.G., and an Appendix by E. L. Giblin* (Cambridge, 1910); H. P. Schlencker, Urika Report for 1907, Papua Reports (hereafter PR), LMS Papers, Australian National Library.
13. E. Pryce Jones, Moru Report 1903–1904, PR; E. Pryce Jones to J. Hills, Moru, 29 December 1909, PL.
14. "Sub-Committee Report re Training Institute," in R. L. Turner to F. Lenwood, Vatorata, 17 April 1915, PL; Boku Annual Report 19–?, PR; see also David Wetherell, "The Fortunes of Charles W. Abel of Kwato 1891–1930," in *Journal of Pacific History* (hereafter JPH) 17, no. 4 (October 1982), 198.
15. H. P. Schlencker to R. W. Thompson, Orokolo, 24 April 1912, 16 May 1912, PL.
16. Papua District Committee Minutes (hereafter PDC) Resolution 13, 16–22 March 1912, in H. M. Dauncey to R. W. Thompson, Delena, 26 March 1912, PL.
17. W. J. V. Saville to F. Lenwood, Sydney, 19 April 1918, PL.
18. Dissent by other LMS agents from this monopoly became clear only when the loss of

Kwato by the LMS seemed imminent in 1918. F. Lenwood, "Circular on the LMS Relation to the Mission in Kwato and subsequently to the Kwato Extension Association," London, 16 December 1924, AP.

19. Of the pre-1907 plantations, Loani was held as a 235-acre freehold; Giligili and Kanakope were Angas Industrial Mission (AIM) freeholds of 72 acres and 100 acres respectively; Wagawaga was an AIM 99-year leasehold of 40 acres. See C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 4 September 1907. For details of subsequent land acquisitions of 400–500 acres, see David Wetherell, "Fortunes of Charles W. Abel," 210 n. 86.

20. *Missionary Chronicle* (London), March 1906.

21. D. Manuwera to W. B. Ward, Kwato, 27 June 1905, AP.

22. W. J. V. Saville to R. W. Thompson, Mailu, 23 October 1912, PL.

23. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 4 April 1905, PL.

24. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 4 April 1905, PL; C. W. Abel, Diary, 15 February 1906, AP.

25. See, for example, C. W. Abel, Diary, 24 October 1899, AP.

26. BNG *Annual Report* 1895–1896, xxiv.

27. C. W. Abel, Letter Diary (hereafter LD), 4 March 1924 (?), PL.

28. The Sacred Heart mission in Papua employed Papuan women in its order of nuns; however, few of those were teachers. An example of an outstanding woman leader from the Milne Bay Province having no connection with Kwato is Josephine Abaijah, a spokeswoman for the Papua Besena movement. Ms. Abaijah's early education was in the Anglican Mission.

29. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Sydney, 16 June 1910, PL.

30. C. W. Abel to E. B. Riley, Kwato, 27 July 1904, AP; C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 21 November 1910, PL.

31. W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Vatorata, 13 April 1905, PL.

32. W. J. V. Saville to R. W. Thompson, Millport Harbour, 4 January 1909, PL.

33. James Cullen to R. W. Thompson, Port Moresby, 23 December 1902, PL.

34. C. F. Rich to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 5 November 1903, PL.

35. LMS, *Report of Revs. A. J. Viner, G. J. Williams, and Rev. Frank Lenwood Deputation to the South Seas and Papua June, 1915–June, 1916* (London, 1916), 216.

36. C. W. Abel to A.P.C. (sic), Kwato, 30 November 1916, and C. W. Abel, Notes (possibly to R. W. Abel), n.d., AP.

37. David Wetherell, "Fortunes of Charles W. Abel," 209, 215.

38. Kwato Extension Association, *Annual Report* 1960–1961, United Church Archives (hereafter UCA), University of Papua New Guinea, Box 40, file 12; David Wetherell and Charlotte Carr-Gregg, "Moral Re-Armament in Papua 1931–1942," in *Oceania* 54, no. 3 (Sydney), 177–203.

39. David Wetherell and Charlotte Carr-Gregg, "Moral Re-Armament," 177-203.

40. Horton Davies, *Christian Deviations: Essays in Defense of the Christian Faith* (London, 1956), 94-105; Owen Chadwick, *Hensley Henson: A Study in the Friction between Church and State* (Oxford 1983), 211.

41. H. Ian Hogbin, taped interview, Sydney, 14 March 1981, in writer's possession; Lucy Mair, pers. comm., London, 19 September 1981; Camilla Wedgwood, Diary III-IV, 5 July 194[4], 18 September-2 October 1944; Third Papuan Patrol diary, 9 December 1946-January 1947, International Training School, Sydney. Similar opinions about Kwato were also held by Colonel J. K. Murray, Administrator of Papua and New Guinea, 1945-1952, and G. T. Roscoe, Director of Education, 1958-1962 (G. T. Roscoe, Director of Education, 1958-1962 (G. T. Roscoe, pers. comm., 15 June 1980). Hogbin and Mair spent only a day at Kwato. Wedgwood, it should be noted, was more reserved in her views after a few days' residence, wondering whether Kwato would make its protégés unfit for any but an Australian society. "Within the mission settlement the colour bar is practically non-existent. . . . But the Kwato community seems to have become a community whose roots are in Kwato and the special conditions which seem to unfit [sic] the people for life outside the community, with the colour bar etc." Diary IV, 5 July 194[4].

42. David Wetherell, "Christian Missions in Eastern New Guinea: A Study of European, South Sea Islands and Papuan Influences 1877-1942," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Canberra, 1974, pp. 234-236, 247; Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia* (New York, 1968), pp. 51-54.

43. Arthur T. Pierson, *The Crisis of Missions* (New York, 1886); Delavan Leonard Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson: A Spiritual Warrior, Mighty in the Scriptures; a Leader in the Modern Missionary Crusade* (New York, 1912), pp. 185-210.

44. A phrase from G. H. Cranswick and I. W. A. Shevill, *A New Deal for Papua* (Melbourne, 1949).

45. *Post-Courier*, Port Moresby, 23 November 1971. Merari (Bele) Dickson, son of Diki Esau, pastor at Lilihoa, served on the Legislative Council for seven years. Alice (b. 1905), daughter of Wedega Gamahari who was baptized in 1899, was a member of MRA. She was created Dame of the British Empire (D.B.E.) in 1982. Dalai Maniana attended Firbank School, Melbourne, 1953-1955; Titus Tiso, son of Tiso Kakaisina, attended Geelong Grammar School, 1955 (Aisoli Salin of New Guinea having preceded him at Geelong before 1939).

46. Cecil Abel and his nephew Christopher Abel.

47. *Post Courier*, Port Moresby, 23 November 1971. Legu Lee of Kwato was PNG consul in Brisbane, 1980-; Ilinome Tarua was Papua New Guinea High Commissioner in London, 1983-.

48. Alice Wedega, *Listen, My Country* (Sydney, 1981), 20.

49. Maori Kiki, *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime* (Melbourne, 1960), 126; Michael Somare, *Sana: An Autobiography of Michael Somare* (Port Moresby, 1975), 45. M. Kiki was foreign minister of PNG from 1974 to 1977; M. T. Somare was prime minister from 1975 to 1980, and since 1982. In addition, Cecil Abel was involved in the drafting of the preamble of the PNG Constitution, which was promulgated in 1975.

50. W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Port Moresby, 20 November 1890, PL. The Port Moresby College was transferred to Vatorata in 1893, and in turn moved to Fife Bay (Isuleilei) in 1924, taking the name Lawes College. It was amalgamated with other United Church theological colleges at Rarongo near Rabaul in 1968.
51. W. G. Lawes to New Guinea District Committee, Sydney, 30 August 1892, PL.
52. H. M. Dauncey to W. G. Lawes, Port Moresby, 24 February 1892, PL.
53. In the Congregational sense of Independent, that is, not depending on authority, as well as in the general sense—unwilling to be under obligation to others.
54. James Chalmers and Albert Pearse. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 25 July 1892, PL; A. Pearse to R. W. Thompson, Port Moresby, 26 July 1892, PL.
55. W. G. Lawes to F. W. Walker and C. W. Abel, Melbourne, 29 December 1891, PL.
56. W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Vatorata, 12 April 1898, PL.
57. W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Vatorata, 31 March 1899, PL.
58. R. L. Turner to F. Lenwood, Vatorata, 16 December 1916, PL. The Suau students at Vatorata, described as "most promising" and the "backbone of Vatorata," were not from Kwato but from the adjoining Isuleilei (Fife Bay) district.
59. Diane Langmore, *Tamate—A King; James Chalmers in New Guinea 1877–1901* (Melbourne, 1974), 81.
60. R. W. Thompson to F. W. Walker, London, 27 March 1896, Western Outgoing Letters (hereafter WOL), LMS papers, National Library of Australia. Estimates of the number of workers vary from 200 to 2,000.
61. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Sydney, 21 May 1895, AP; W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Vatorata, 16 September 1895, AP. As Lawes feared, the Kwato expenditure was a precedent: subsequently larger sums than before were spent on LMS houses. G. Cousins to C. W. Abel, Sydney, 6 December 1901, AP; C. W. Abel to G. Cousins, Sydney, 5 March 1902, AP.
62. R. W. Thompson to C. F. Rich, London, 24 September 1903, WOL.
63. R. W. Thompson to C. W. Abel, London, 10 May 1901, WOL.
64. Secretary, New Guinea District Committee (NGDC) to Abel, n.p., 16 July 1901, PL.
65. PDC Minutes, 6–11 April 1911, PR.
66. S. Smith to C. W. Abel, Port Moresby, 2 May 1912, AP; Arthur Porritt to C. W. Abel, London, 29 September 1912, AP. M. Staniforth Smith was administrator of Papua between 1908 and 1930. Porritt held the editorship and other positions in the British Non-conformist journal *Christian World*, 1899–1936.
67. W. G. Lawes to R. W. Thompson, Vatorata, 20 October 1899, PL.
68. A. E. Hunt to C. W. Abel, Port Moresby, 4 September 1899, PL.
69. E. Pryce Jones to M. E. Page, Vatorata, 24–25 December 1899, in Pryce Jones Papers, PL.
70. E. Pryce Jones to R. W. Thompson, Moru, 15 January 1909, PL. By 1919, other LMS

districts were sending Papuan evangelists west; for example, Isuleilei youths were working at Aird Hill and Hula evangelists were at Orokolo and Namau. C. F. Rich to R. W. Thompson, Isuleilei, 5 April 1913, PL; Namau Annual Report 1917, PR; J. B. Clark to F. Lenwood, Port Moresby, 16 August 1919, PL.

71. C. F. Rich to F. Lenwood, Isuleilei, 19 February, 1918, PL. Similar views are expressed in W. J. V. Saville to F. Lenwood, Sydney, 19 April 1918, PL; E. P. Jones to F. Lenwood, Moru, 12 February 1918, PL; J. H. Holmes to P.D.C., Sydney, 7 January 1918, PL.

72. S. F. Nadel, "The Concept of Social Elites," *International Social Science Bulletin* 8 (1956), 413.

73. Nigel Oram, "The London Missionary Society Pastorate and the Emergence of an Educated Elite in Papua," in *JPH* 6 (1971), 115-132.

74. David Wetherell, "Fortunes of Charles W. Abel," 203.

75. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1961 ed.

76. The average annual rental was \$350 per annum, which was arranged on a sliding scale from \$150 to \$500 per annum. G. J. W[illiams] to F. J. Searle, Melbourne, 27 July 1923, AP.

77. C. W. Abel to B. Abel, n.p., 19 November 192[4?], AP.

78. C. W. Abel, Letter Diary, 17 March 1924, AP.

79. *Pastoral Review*, Melbourne, 16 December 1925. Apparently the chairs were in disuse by the time of Cecil Abel's arrival from England in 1927. Pers. comm., C. C. G. Abel.

80. C. W. Abel, Letter Diary, 24 May 1925, AP; C. W. Abel to W. R. Moody, Kwato, 18 November 1925, AP; see also *New Guinea Tidings* (hereafter *NGT*), vol. 3, no. 8 (January 1926), 4.

81. *Papuan Courier*, Port Moresby, 28 June 1929.

82. Resident Magistrate Eastern Division, Patrol Report, 12 November 1930, Australian Archives, Commonwealth Records Series (hereafter CRS) G91. The second phrase is Abel's.

83. Anna Pierson McDougall, quoted in *NGT* 7, no. 21 (June 1930), 9.

84. *Kwato Mission Tidings* 14, no. 43 (June 1937), 12. See C. W. Abel to family, Sydney, 10 February 1928, AP, for a proposal that Beatrice Abel's birthday be observed in the Kwato district as a "sacred holiday."

85. *NGT* 8, no. 22 (October 1930), 5.

86. *NGT* 1, no. 3 (July 1924), 4.

87. Resident Magistrate Eastern Division, Patrol Report (hereafter RMED PR), 16 March 1919, CRS G91; see also RMED Official Journal, 28 March 1922, CRS G91.

88. RMED PR, 16 March 1919, CRS G91.

89. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 12 June 1903, AP.

90. C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 23 November 1901, PL.

91. David Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs: Samoans in a Nonconformist Mission District in Papua, 1890–1917," in *JPH* 15, pt. 3 (July 1980), 130–154.
92. Ronald G. Williams, *The United Church in Papua, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands* (Rabaul, 1972), 42.
93. H. P. Schlencker, Annual Report, Vatorata, Hula, and Boku, 1918–1919, PR, LMS, National Library of Australia.
94. Bishops of the Roman Catholic and United churches respectively.
95. Alice Wedega, *Listen, My Country*, 20.
96. C. W. Abel to P. D. Abel, Kwato, 8 June 1929, AP. It should be noted that carving was a highly developed Massim art form. As with the position of women, the mission was able to build on features of Massim society that were already pronounced.
97. Usually published in New York.
98. C. W. Abel to P. D. Abel, Northfield, 29 December 1922, AP; C. W. Abel, Notes, 1929(?), AP.
99. Territory of Papua, *Annual Report 1937–1938* (Port Moresby), p. 20; C. W. Abel, *The Aim and Scope of an Industrial Branch to the New Guinea Mission* (London, 1903), 3–4.
100. Francis West, *Hubert Murray: The Australian Pro-Consul* (Melbourne, 1968), 183. But Murray also said that "the only limit of what the Papuans will be able to do will be the limit of what Europeans could teach them." David Wetherell, ed., *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong* (Melbourne, 1981), 29 October 1939, p. 14. Kwato Fellowship Letter, February 1933, United Church Archives, University of Papua New Guinea, Box 40.
101. Tony Austin, *Technical Training and Development in Papua 1894–1941* (Canberra, 1977), 6–39.
102. W. J. V. Saville to F. Lenwood, Mailu, 30 August 1919, PL; R. L. Turner to Directors, LMS, Vatorata, 28 July 1913, PL.
103. *NGT* 6, no. 10 (October 1929), 15.
104. C. W. Abel to D. L. Pierson, Kwato, 4 July 1929, A.P.
105. The two LMS schools with higher standards were Fife Bay (including Suau) and Port Moresby. This is given further support from several sources. It is significant that the students from Suau and Lawes College, Fife Bay, rather than those from the Kwato District were the most outstanding in performance at the Central Papuan Training School, opened at Sogeri in 1944. Of the 112 students, all but one from Papuan mission schools, the Sogeri staff ranked the students' performance in the following order, from best to worst: (1) Roman Catholics from St. Patrick's Yule Island; (2) LMS students from Lawes College, Fife Bay, and environs; (3) Methodists from the Trobriands, and students from Kwato (tied); (4) Anglicans, Methodists from the D'Entrecasteaux and Unevangelised Fields Mission; (5) LMS students west of Port Moresby; (6) Roman Catholics from Sidea Island; and (7) Seventh Day Adventists from Aroma. The estimate of Kwato students, as falling in the middle of the range, and of Suau–Fife Bay students at the top of the scale, is similar to the assessment made of the students tested at Vatorata in 1914. C. H. Wedgwood, First Field Patrol Book, 11–15 March 1944, International Training School (hereafter ITS), Sydney.

Likewise, B. Malinowski (1920) advised W. E. Armstrong, the assistant government anthropologist about to begin work in southeast Papua, to study at Suau which seemed “the best endowed in English-speaking informants” among the Massim people of eastern Papua; that is, the most highly educated people came from there rather than China Straits, including Kwato and Milne Bay. Further, A. Capell (1954) commented that the Motu themselves are becoming perhaps the most highly educated people in Papua” after a comparative survey of Kwato, Port Moresby, and other LMS mission areas. B. Malinowski to A. C. Haddon, 20 February 1920, Haddon Papers, Cambridge University Library, Envelope 7. A. Capell, *A Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific South Pacific Commission Technical Paper No. 136* (Noumea, 1962) (revised), 143. Anne Kaniku, a former Kwato student, was informed that there was a “ceiling” as to how high the indigenes at Kwato could aspire; she records the opinion that they were regarded as “servants.” A. Kaniku, “Religious Confusion,” *Yagl-Ampu* 4, no. 4 (1977), 266. A technical teacher at Kwato 1932–1938 had not heard of a “high school” which Cecil Abel asserts the Kwato mission began in 1938–1939. Arthur Swinfield, pers. comm. For Abel’s claim, see Nigel Oram, *Colonial Town to Melanesian City Port Moresby* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1976), p. 52.

106. Alice Wedega, *Listen, My Country*, 20; Cecil Abel, “The Impact of Charles Abel,” in Second Waigani Seminar, *The History of Melanesia* (Port Moresby, 1968).
107. Hugh Seton-Watson, “Nations and Nationalism,” in *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, Colorado, 1977), 1–3.
108. C. W. Abel to family, Montclair, 14 December 1929, PL; see also C. W. Abel, LD, 12 July 1926, AP.
109. C. W. Abel to Assistant Treasurer LMS, Kwato, 15 January 1914, AP, 26.
110. C. W. Abel to M. Parkin, 26 July 191[6?], AP.
111. B Abel to (?) C. C. G. Abel, Kwato, 7 August 1917, AP; see also B. Abel to C. C. G. Abel, Kwato, July 1917, AP.
112. C. W. Abel, LD, 1 September 1924, AP.
113. C. W. Abel, LD, 12 February 1924(?), AP; C. W. Abel, LD, 18 November 1922, AP.
114. C. W. Abel, LD, 28 September 1924, AP; see also C. W. Abel, Diary or LD, 16 February 1925, AP.
115. C. W. Abel, Letter Diary, 22 September 1924, AP; C. W. Abel, LD, n.d. but in 1924, AP.
116. See above, p. 7.
117. David Wetherell, “Fortunes of Charles W. Abel,” p. 213, n. 96.
118. F. H. Moxon to B. Abel, Bourke, 28 July 1912, AP. Camilla Wedgwood’s diary entry during the Pacific War, “Long discussion [with] the Abels re dangers of producing a NG elite” makes an interesting contrast to Anne Kaniku’s record of interviews using the term “servants” (n. 105 above). Camilla Wedgwood, Diary IV, 5 July 194[4], International Training School.
119. As, for example, “Changing masters so frequently ruins the kind of servants our teachers are.” C. W. Abel to R. W. Thompson, Kwato, 30 October 1895, PL.

120. C. W. Abel to —, n.d., but after 1915. Internal evidence suggests his correspondent was a contributor to the *International Review of Missions* or the *Missionary Review of the World*.
121. See above, n. 41.
122. Camilla Wedgwood, Notebook, 3rd Papuan Patrol (January 1947), International Training School.
123. Cyril S. Belshaw, "In Search of Wealth: A Study of the Emergence of Commercial Operations in the Melanesian Society of South-eastern Papua," in *American Anthropologist* 57, no. 1, pt. 2, Memoir No. 80 (Vancouver, 1955), 7.
124. "Newsletter from Russell Abel," Kwato, 10 June 1948, United Church Archives, UPNG, Box 40, File 13.
125. A note in the private diary of Philip Strong, Anglican bishop of New Guinea (1936–1962) expressed disquiet at a suggestion by a Kwato leader that a Papuan represent Papuans on the Legislative Council: "it seems to indicate that the Kwato influence tends to instil Nationalistic ideas into the minds of the Papuans." As Russell Abel showed, the Kwato Europeans were as disquieted about signs of nationalism as the Bishop. David Wetherell, ed., *Diaries of Philip Strong*, 24 August 1941, p. 52.
126. Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report 1939–1940, p. 127, quoted in Ian Howie-Willis, *A Thousand Graduates: Conflict in University Development in Papua New Guinea, 1961–1976*, Pacific Research Monograph no. 3 (Canberra, 1980), 15.
127. Amirah Inglis, pers. comm., 8 December 1983.
128. It is in this sense of "self-governing" that the present writer in 1973 described Abel's predictions about Papua. David Wetherell, "Monument to a Missionary: C. W. Abel and the Keveri of Papua," in *JPH* 8 (1973), 32.
129. David Wetherell, "Fortunes of Charles W. Abel," 212–217.
130. Oleva J. Lebasi to P. D. Abel, Naura, 26 September 1944, AP.

POPULATION, MIGRATION, AND PROBLEMS OF ATOLL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

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Our island world ceased to be. The world exploded and our island became a remote outpost . . . the last place in a country which has few centres and much remoteness.

C. Luana, "Buka: A Retrospect"

The revolution in rising expectations experienced in most parts of the Third World has not excluded some of the smallest and most remote islands in the world: the atolls of the South Pacific. In the past decade many of the states in the region have achieved independence; others have essentially had independence thrust upon them. These countries now face difficult development decisions in a world economy that has changed little to respond to the aspirations of the smallest states. The problems of development are considerable and this paper seeks to review some of the economic options available to such small states and, more specifically, to examine the changing relationships between population and resources and between expectations and reality.

It is necessary, first, to distinguish between those countries in the South Pacific where a small number of atolls are part of a much larger country (Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Palau, Fiji, and New Caledonia), countries having a significant number of atolls but at least one high island (Federated States of Micronesia [FSM], French Polynesia, and Cook Islands), and what are here referred to as the atoll states, consisting entirely of atolls (Tuvalu, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, and

Tokelau). Development problems and strategies in these countries are, and will continue to be, quite different, especially in relationship to what is possible on atolls. Second, atolls vary enormously in size, both of land and lagoon area and in rainfall, and hence so do their flora and fauna and their ability to support populations and enable some form of diversified development.

Aspirations of atoll dwellers are unlikely to be significantly different whether those atolls are parts of very large countries or, as in Tokelau, where three atolls comprise the whole territory. However, they will have some differences; for example, it is probable that the aspirations of atoll residents in the North Solomons Province of PNG will be directed toward a higher level of consumption of modern goods than atoll residents in most parts of FSM or Tuvalu. All atolls are now part of the international economy, and the aspirations of atoll people are generally those of people elsewhere, including improved services (health, education), remunerative employment opportunities, and consumer goods (imported food, clothes, outboard motors, motorbikes, etc.), although wants are somewhat less than those of occupants of larger islands where imported goods are more familiar. Everywhere, real and perceived differences between places in life-styles, economic opportunity, and the range of available services and facilities have increased, especially since the 1950s (Bedford 1980:47). Significantly, the quotation that opens this paper actually comes from the occupant of a large island (Buka) in Melanesia and not from an occupant of a small atoll. It is a truism that new aspirations can be less easily satisfied in atoll environments; it is equally a truism that, as these aspirations increase, the degree to which they can be satisfied on atolls falls.

Atoll Populations and Population Change

There is no doubt that populations on atolls may be extremely small: Sorol atoll in Yap State (FSM) has had one resident family for many years and there was also the exceptional case of Suwarrow in the Cook Islands with one resident for a period in the 1960s. These are artificial circumstances in which populations cannot grow or exist without outside support, and even basic self-reliance is impossible; in the long term they are not viable. It has been estimated on the basis of archaeological records, computer simulations, and anthropological studies that a minimum viable population for maintenance in total isolation is about fifty (Alkire 1978:28-30), and Osborne (1966:49) provides a vivid description of the dying phases of the small community on Merir atoll, Palau.

The smaller the population the more likely it is to depend on outside assistance of some kind: medical supplies, schools, relief food supplies, remittances, and so on. The possibility of achieving self-reliance is more likely to be met through achieving a balanced population that is neither declining nor growing rapidly. To arrest the decline of outer atolls demands investment in development (employment opportunities and infrastructure) to deter the outmigration of the more productive members of the atoll society. The example of Takapoto in French Polynesia (see below) demonstrates that this is possible, but this is both a rare and unusual example and one that was dependent on a high initial investment by the country as a whole. The alternative is to allow, or even encourage, outmigration to employment opportunities overseas (since the evidence from the atoll states demonstrates that none are able to generate significant employment opportunities in towns, in other than exceptional cases such as Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands). For the non-atoll states, migration is generally possible within the state (although there are certainly constraints within countries like FSM); in Tokelau, migration to New Zealand is a right, and migration from the Marshall Islands to the U.S. is possible (and acceptable) under the Compact of Free Association. For Tuvalu and Kiribati only migration to Nauru is possible at the moment, and this is currently constrained by fixed employment opportunities there and in about a decade by the eventual closure of the phosphate mine. Both countries have sought resettlement opportunities overseas and also new overseas employment by training seamen, and Tuvalu has formally located a handful of workers in New Zealand under existing short-term schemes. However, in the immediate future these two countries do not have long-term overseas migration (or resettlement) opportunities and it is in these countries above all that the need for atoll development is greatest.

Although the populations of many, perhaps most, atolls are growing at a slower rate than that of the state as a whole, few are actually losing population. Thus between 1973 and 1980 the population actually declined in only one Marshall Islands atoll (Lib), two Ponape atolls (Mokil and Pingelap), three Yap atolls (Fais, Sorol, and Eauripik), and one Truk atoll (Pulusuk); between 1973 and 1978 the population of six Kiribati atolls declined (Makin, Kuria, Beru, Nikunau, Tamana, and Arorae); and between 1973 and 1979 populations declined on two Tuvalu atolls (Nanumea and Niutao). Between 1976 and 1981 the population of one Tokelau atoll (Fakaofo) also fell. Comparing the populations of the six Kiribati atolls, between 1973 and 1978, with those of atolls generally, it is apparent that they have on average a significantly

TABLE 1. Atoll State Populations

	Marshall Islands	Kiribati ^a	Tokelau	Tuvalu
Occupied atolls	24	16	3	9
Total population	30,873 (1980)	51,642 (1978)	1,572 (1981)	7,349 (1979)
Mean atoll population	1,286	3,227	524	817
Mean atoll population (excluding central atoll)	565 ^b	2,096	524	653
Population (km ²)	172	192	52	287

Note: Areas are land areas. Since lagoons provide maritime resources, variable lagoon areas are also important.

^a These data refer to the Gilberts only, thus excluding Banaba and the Line Islands.

^b This figure excludes the populations of both Majuro (including Laura) and Kwajalein (including Ebeye).

lower population than atolls as a whole (99 compared with 1,286 in the Marshall Islands, 134 compared with 268 in Yap State, 214 compared with 718 in Truk State, 657 compared with 341 in Ponape State, 1,523 compared with 3,227 in Kiribati, and 855 compared with 817 in Tuvalu). It is the smallest atolls that appear most likely to lose population. Unfortunately, for comparative purposes, much of the population data on the atolls of French Polynesia is aggregated by commune rather than differentiated by atolls; however, after excluding communes with a substantial military presence (Hao and Tureia), and carefully examining population change between 1971 and 1977, the evidence suggests that around twenty-eight out of fifty-two populated atolls actually lost population. The data are too crude to make other correlations. While the data from both Kiribati and Tuvalu are anomalous (and may indicate some "push" on migration from very densely populated atolls), the implication of population change on French Polynesian atolls (and, to a much lesser extent, in FSM) is that where there are clearly existing social and economic opportunities elsewhere, migration is likely to follow. However, it is not possible to compare directly the migration situation on atolls in different regions; there is no reason why all South Pacific countries should be simultaneously experiencing similar economic changes. It would be more useful to compare current patterns of migration on atolls of similar demographic structure and population density from place to place.

Modern health facilities and medicines have resulted in more rapid natural increase of population in most atoll situations; infants are more likely to survive, and diseases are less likely to be fatal while modern

family planning is largely absent in the atoll states. As atoll populations increase, the problem of satisfying basic needs (e.g. housing and food) also increases. Although there has been little research on the human carrying capacities of atolls (and it is invariably true that there are possibilities of agricultural intensification, varietal improvement, and fishing development), in a number of cases population densities have reached extremely high levels (see Table 1) and development prospects are limited. All atoll residents now demand some cash income (for clothes, fish hooks, kerosene, etc.); where population densities, as on Eauripik in FSM, have increased to the extent that all coconuts produced are eaten rather than marketed as copra (the only possible agricultural export), the constraints are particularly severe. In this case, locally generated income is earned almost entirely from handicraft production. Eauripik may be extreme (with a population density of 950 per km² in 1980), but its limited development options reflect the essential problems of atoll development.

The combination of higher postwar rates of population increase, the increased desire for consumer goods, the location of higher education facilities and hospitals either on one central atoll or on a high island, and the concentration of formal sector employment there has, in many cases, resulted in considerable outmigration from many atolls. Although the data have not yet been analyzed in adequate detail, it appears that outmigration from atolls has been greatest where there is a central high island (as in French Polynesia) and where the economic and social differences between high island and atoll are greatest. In many cases—for example Sikaiana in the Solomon Islands, Namoluk in Truk, Raroia in French Polynesia, and Nukuoro in Ponape—migrants have established a relatively permanent community in the principal high island, and increasingly this has become a focus for the atoll population that is as important as the atoll itself. In many of these cases the proportion of former atoll residents on the high island is as high as that on the atoll, and children born there experience little or no contact with the home atoll. In such contexts, although remittances from migrants paradoxically enable those remaining on the island both to maintain a relatively traditional life-style and also to benefit from the imported consumer goods that these remittances purchase, traditional societal structures tend to break down as traditional obligations and authority are fragmented and ignored. Off-atoll marriages increase and problems of ethnic identity may follow. High levels of outmigration tend to emphasize trends that monetization and modernization have already initiated.

Development and Non-Development

When both population and wants have grown together in environments where local production possibilities are limited, the export of labor has become an important means of meeting some basic subsistence requirements, especially food. For example, in 1971

The people of Butaritari and Makin [two atolls in northern Kiribati] are becoming increasingly dependent on remittances to pay their taxes and their children's school fees, to buy corned beef and rice for feasts, and to purchase even moderately expensive items at the store. Most of the durable goods on Makin—planks for canoe hulls, canvas for sails, bicycles, sewing machines, radios and even clothing—were brought by returning workers. The exports of labor has become the principle means of *maintaining* the local standard of living. (Lambert 1975:220-221; emphasis mine)

To withdraw from the obligations involved in paying taxes, school fees, and participating in feasts would demand considerable sacrifice. In most of the atolls of the South Pacific, movement toward the self-sufficiency that reduction of remittances implies would be difficult and painful; in many places aspirations are firmly directed toward the acquisition of modern goods and, as has been argued for the small island of Rotuma, "with the prestige given to 'foreign' goods, it is doubtful, therefore that Rotumans would *want* to be self-sufficient, even if that were a possibility" (Plant 1977:174). In other small islands the same kind of situation exists; in Tikopia "from such a level of dependence on imported goods it becomes difficult to retreat without unease and a sense of deprivation" (Firth 1971:69), and in Ponape, too, villagers are not interested in adequate subsistence, nor even "the right to subsistence" but rather they desire "continued and increased access to the goods and prestige provided by employment" (Petersen 1979:37). While these statements refer specifically to small islands rather than atolls, such attitudes are becoming true of almost all areas within the Pacific and emphasize the reality of relative deprivation. Thus self-sufficiency is steadily being eroded and the alternative, a more adequate interdependence, seems as distant as ever.

On small atolls especially, there are very few prospects of formal sector employment; as education levels increase and demand for employ-

ment also increases, this fact is further emphasized. For example, on Namoluk atoll, nearly 90 percent of the estimated de jure population in the age group 15-29 have left the atoll (Marshall 1979:10). Elsewhere in FSM,

there are only two high school graduates on Eauripik, and both of them are teaching in the school. There is one further government position as health aide on the atoll, but when that is filled, there will be no more government positions requiring education. High school graduates will have to make copra and catch fish. (Levin 1976:180)

Eauripik had a population of about 130. On Namu in the Marshall Islands, with a population of about 630, there were fifteen people with cash incomes in 1968: 10 teachers, 3 health aides, and 2 pastors (Pollock 1970). In these kinds of situations the number of paid jobs that can be supported even on large atolls is quite small, especially since on these two atolls, only two jobs (the pastors) were in the private sector. Overseas migration for wage employment is therefore not only unsurprising but inevitable. However, this is not just a movement of workers—and the most fertile group of the population (who then reproduce overseas)—but also a brain drain of the skilled and talented (Marshall 1979:10). Thus the demand for cash and goods and hence employment has stimulated outmigration; migration from atolls, as elsewhere, is predominantly of young men. Indeed Marshall has titled one unpublished paper on Namoluk atoll, FSM, "Where have all the young men gone? Gone to Truk everyone," and in the Cook Islands it is asked, "Where have all the *mapu* [young people] gone" (Graves and Graves 1976). The absence of high proportions of young men, for education, work, or other reasons, has increased the dependency ratio on atolls and has resulted in a labor shortage for some activities. In all countries there are further pressures on atoll life. Since atolls are small and often remote from capitals, the costs of transportation (either of commodities or medical services) have rapidly increased as oil prices have increased, and transport services have declined substantially in some areas. Migration becomes a cheaper alternative than remaining.

The small size of atolls and their remoteness has severely limited the diversity of ecological environments, and hence plant and animal species. This lack of diversity has been dramatically emphasized since the nineteenth century by the "coconut overlay" (Bedford 1980:48) that has transformed the economy of atolls by enabling participation, however

limited, in the international economy through copra production. In the Tuamotus of French Polynesia the coconut overlay was directly responsible for the complete disappearance of the former agricultural economy (Ravault 1982). Generally, the subsistence sector of atoll economies, both agriculture and fishing, has declined, especially following outmigration, as has cooperative work. Necessary activities such as coconut replanting are often postponed indefinitely. At the same time as labor is withdrawn from subsistence activities, cash flows from migrants enable declining production to be replaced by imported commodities. Moreover, increasingly, atoll dwellers have discovered that they have a one-crop economy and that that single crop has a falling price on the world market. Growing dependency on a single cash crop and remittances from migrants have resulted in a dangerous movement away from what little diversity hitherto existed.

In some places the *de facto* populations of small atolls will continue to decline, gradually becoming more like those south of Palau where the social machinery is kept going with a "skeleton crew" (McKnight 1977) and the atolls increasingly become a place of "vacation homes" (Marshall 1979:10). Overall, however, it is as much the growing dependency of atoll populations as the working-age groups leave that is the principal cause for concern rather than depopulation itself.

Net emigration, once considered a safety valve relieving pressure on limited land resources, is now perceived to be radically altering the structures of island populations. The accelerating exodus of young potentially productive (and reproductive) men and women is seen to be the cause of an increasing economic burden for those left behind to care for the children and elderly. (Bedford 1980:55)

Yet it is unlikely that atolls, other than the smallest and most isolated, will become depopulated; there appear to be no examples of this in the present century, although a number of islets of atolls have been abandoned. The contemporary resilience of small island communities, such as those of Pitcairn and Palmerston in the Cook Islands, suggests that populations will remain long after their demise has been confidently predicted from outside. For example, in part of the Outer Reef Islands of Solomon Islands it has been suggested that total fertility among remaining females rose as the total number of females decreased through migration (Davenport 1975:112), which poses interesting questions on causality. Nevertheless the longterm future of many small atolls

remains doubtful as population margins in the South Pacific continue to contract.

It is clear, however, on a number of atolls that if all the *de jure* population were to return (which is certainly unlikely) there would be very severe problems of maintaining even basic subsistence organization. For example, Levin notes, "Since there are almost as many persons living off Eauripik as living on the atoll, if these persons were to return, there would be difficulties providing fish and housing for all of them" (1976:192). The same is essentially true of Namoluk, Sikaiana, and many atolls where migration has been a "safety-valve" for overpopulation to the extent that Levin refers to it as "institutionalised migration" (1976:259). Moreover, return migrants invariably have higher expectations than can be met on atolls; they are often discontented and that discontent affects others. Self-sufficiency, even if possible in these contexts, is unlikely to remove that discontent. Migration creates greater consumer wants while simultaneously diminishing the chance of satisfying them at home. For most migrants from atolls, there has been no necessity for them ever to return to their own atoll; however, in some circumstances, as jobs decline elsewhere, and possibly as social tensions increase (as in some urban areas of the South Pacific), migrants may choose to return. Moreover, it is possible that pressures on return migration may be increased by legislation over access to employment, such as that in Kiribati (see below). The necessity to implement development strategies for atolls is correspondingly increased.

As wage jobs become more difficult to find locally, aspirations are either likely to be abandoned—Hezel notes how "several hundred Trukese graduates, displaying powers of re-adjustment greater than many of us would have imagined possible, have settled back to their island communities with apparent good grace" (1979:184)—or to be satisfied at a greater distance from "home." Since there are few atolls in the English-speaking areas of Polynesia, most migration from atolls (with the exception of significant but temporary streams from Kiribati and Tuvalu) has been within the country. Marshall has suggested that in the case of Micronesia (and perhaps especially Palau), this may well change (as now seems more probable following agreement over the Compact of Free Association), to the extent that Micronesian residents of the United States may outnumber "the folks back home" (1979:10–11). This situation already exists in Niue, Tokelau, and the Cook Islands and presents a future for the atoll states that has nothing to do with self-reliance and which is viewed with concern and dismay by many in those countries. For example, to retain skilled Micronesians in Micronesia may necessi-

tate providing salaries at United States levels, for a small number, and hence would result in enormous disparities between their incomes and those of other Micronesians (cf. Schwalbenberg 1982:31). The alternative is to enable returning migrants, like the Trukese graduates, to find an environment in their home islands where a satisfactory balanced economic and social development is possible.

While outmigration may solve the immediate population problems of some small, densely populated atolls, it also may increase the problems of destination areas, especially in the atoll states. Some of the most difficult and intractable development problems in the South Pacific are experienced in the atoll states (and, to a lesser extent, in those where atolls predominate). Since aspirations to migration are much the same in these countries, and infrastructure (principally for health and education) is often highly centralized, migration has been concentrated in a very limited number of areas. The most extreme examples of this are the Marshall Islands and Kiribati. In the Marshall Islands, the 1980 census recorded a total population of 30,873, of whom 11,791 were on Majuro (at a density of 1,312 persons per km²); less than 40 percent of the population were on "rural" atolls. In Kiribati the 1978 census recorded a total population of 58,512, of whom 17,921 (32%) were on South Tarawa at an average density of 1,137 persons per km². The only other atoll state approaching these kinds of urban concentrations and densities is Tuvalu where the 1979 census recorded a total population of 8,730 (of whom 7,349 were in Tuvalu); Funafuti had a population of 2,120 (28.9%) at a density of 770 persons per km². In each of these cases urbanization has been both recent and rapid. The reasons for these urban concentrations are many and, perhaps until quite recently, have followed growing economic and social differentials between one central atoll and the remaining atolls. A centralized administration has spawned the centralization of the service sector and hence most formal sector employment is concentrated in the center. In Tuvalu, 72 percent of all those employed in the cash economy were in Funafuti; in Kiribati 57 percent were in South Tarawa. The figure for the Marshall Islands (for the two centers) is likely to be higher than that for Tuvalu. This centralization of wage employment suggests that even where urban unemployment, however recorded, is growing, the chances of obtaining wage employment appear to be greater at the center. Since social services, the "bright lights," and a significant proportion of relatives are also at the center, there are powerful attractions to rural-urban migration. This centralization may be compounded by "urban bias," where financial and technical resources are overwhelmingly concentrated in the urban area.

Inevitably this urban concentration has created problems. Many of these problems are no different from those of much larger urban centers elsewhere in the Third World: overcrowding in poor housing conditions with attendant health risks, pollution (to the extent in South Tarawa that the lagoon is a potential health risk and was one cause of a cholera outbreak in 1977), unemployment (even if disguised by sharing in extended families), worsened nutrition (as cash incomes are often inadequate to purchase diets based on imported foods), and sometimes higher crime rates and social disorganization. Since migrants are not always successful in towns they may be unable, or unwilling, to contribute significantly to the needs of their rural kin. Remittances are invariably bidirectional, but where migration is international, the balance favors the migrants' home area. Where migration is internal this is not always certain; when urban jobs are hard to find, those who earn wages in town may be more likely to redistribute money there than remit to the home atoll. In Lae, in the Marshall Islands, the flow from Ebeye scarcely exceeded the rural-urban flow (Alexander 1977); for Nukuoro migrants in Ponape, the rural-urban flow appears to exceed the urban-rural flow (Chalkley 1972). However, more generally, throughout the Micronesian atolls, both "good" and "bad" times can usually be distinguished and in the bad times both money and foodstuffs flow to the towns (Alkire 1978:145). If bad times in urban areas increase in the future, rural dependence on remittances may inadvertently prompt a reversion toward self-reliance. These urban problems are not unique to atolls, but the small size of the land and lagoon areas, and the problems of achieving economic growth accentuate the basic difficulties.

In the atoll states of the Marshall Islands, Kiribati, and Tuvalu there are therefore two related problems: the depopulation and economic decline of the smaller, remoter atolls and overurbanization on the principal atoll. In the absence of overseas migration from atoll states, development prospects would be even more difficult; thus, apart from overseas seamen (representing 3 percent and 1 percent respectively of the *de facto* population of Tuvalu and Kiribati), there were almost 722 (8.2%) Tuvaluans and 1,460 (2.5%) I-Kiribati employed on Nauru at the time of the last censuses. An unknown number of Marshallese and more than half the Tokelau population are overseas. Movement overseas both reduces the pressure on local resources and provides a substantial cash flow from remittances. When phosphate mining on Nauru ends, in the absence of alternative overseas opportunities, the development problems of Kiribati and Tuvalu will be considerably worsened. In the other South Pacific countries where there are atolls, movements of population can be more easily accommodated on one or more large islands, while

the losses of production (copra and fish) that follow outmigration from atolls, although hindrances to self-reliance, can be more easily compensated for. In these contexts the achievement of self-reliance on atolls is not such an immediate concern as that in the atoll states.

Development Options and Alternatives

There are alternatives to the trends of population decline, nondevelopment, dependency, and overurbanization in the atolls of the South Pacific. Marshall suggests one possibility, that "outer-island communities may undergo a demographic revitalisation as educated migrants, longing to re-establish their cultural and ethnic roots, forego the urban centres and work towards building a new economic future in their home communities" (1979:11). While there have always been minority movements to reestablish cultural identity, these are usually born out of idealism, which, compared with the reality of economic change, has not proved to be alone an adequate basis for development. Where solutions exist they are likely to exist in the area of economic development and job provision on atolls.

In Kiribati, a series of policy solutions have evolved in an attempt to achieve a more balanced development and share out work "in a more equitable manner, and at the same time, persuading people to either go home to their own islands or stay there in the first place" (Kiribati 1981:2). These policies include, in the longterm, improved rural education (including traditional and practical skills), increased copra prices (by subsidy), the development and expansion of district centers (involving decentralization of government), and perhaps the resettlement of the distant and uninhabited or sparsely settled Line Islands. In the short-term, policies designed to allocate existing employment more equitably include making all unskilled jobs within government and statutory bodies on South Tarawa three-year contract jobs only; recruitment would be from the outer islands (or from "true Tarawa" people) on a quota basis, and at the end of the contract the worker would be required to return home. Related to this are policies that restrict both copra plantation work and unskilled work on Nauru to periods of three years. Thus, attempts are being made to strictly regulate employment, to minimize urbanization in the attempt to both decentralize opportunities to other atolls and insure a more equitable distribution of opportunities between atolls.

Given the general consensus that education produces outmigration (both as children go to high school elsewhere and educated individuals

seek related employment overseas), it is often argued that a more appropriate education would produce a social context in which people were more likely to accept rural life and/or to gain skills that would be relevant there. The manpower needs of atoll states (and larger South Pacific economies) cannot cope with large numbers of school leavers with a strictly academic education; the content of a more appropriate curriculum that is not obviously "second-best" remains a source of debate. It is also possible that the location of schools may influence migration; invariably high schools are located in urban areas. One exception is the Outer Island High School on Ulithi atoll in Yap State, FSM; there is some indication that graduates from this school are more likely to return to their own atolls than go on to Yap or Guam (although this may also be related to other social and economic factors). School location may reduce outmigration, if only perhaps by slowing it for the individual or for the society as a whole. This may be an adequate achievement in itself.

Where atolls are only part of a country it may be possible to divert resources from larger islands, where economic growth is more evident, to provide special funds and strategies for the atolls. This is the case in French Polynesia where migration from the atolls of the Tuamotu archipelago had resulted in large population concentrations in Papeete and a decline in the social and economic life of the atolls. General assistance for economic activities such as tourism and cattle breeding had always been available and improvements in the infrastructure (airstrips, primary schools, and aid posts) had been made during the 1970s, but in 1979 these activities were integrated into a special development scheme, the "Fonds d'Aménagement et de Développement des Îles de la Polynésie Française" (FADIP). FADIP has a four-fold strategy: support for copra production; fare assistance for those wishing to resettle in the outer islands; aid for economic, social, and cultural development; and special financial assistance. Between April 1977 and January 1980 there was a net movement of 2,500 people toward the atolls and in 1979 and 1980 FADIP directly assisted some 910 people to return. The evidence suggests, therefore, that where a concerted, integrated rural development policy can be developed and implemented, atoll development is possible and longterm migration trends can be redirected.

That there is a clear relationship between rural development and return migration can be illustrated for the case of Takapoto, one of the Tuamotu atolls in French Polynesia. There the population had fallen steadily from 1956 to the early 1970s, but from 1974 it began to rise again, as return migration exceeded outmigration. A number of factors

were responsible for this change: first, the deterioration of the economic situation in Papeete, the capital (and hence rising unemployment); second, a rise in the price of copra; third, the establishment of air transport (enabling the possibility of tourism, food transport, and more rapid communication with Papeete); and, fourth, the establishment of a pearl shell industry (Pollock 1978). The integrated nature of development (infrastructure and incomes), however inadvertent, is apparent as is the incidental "urban restraint" of unemployment. However, the evidence does indicate that where opportunities are redistributed (and equalized) return migration does follow. In 1976 when Pollock observed these trends, her conclusion was that "this may be only a temporary or 'boom' period of increase in the atoll population for the economic advantages may be shortlived" (1978:135); but five years later there was no evidence that this was so and representatives of the Cook Islands government had traveled to Takapoto to study the potential of the situation.

Conclusion

Atoll development options are naturally constrained by limited land (and sometimes lagoon) areas, and the simplicity of atoll environments (so that natural ecosystems may easily be disrupted). These options are broadened by the increased availability of new plant varieties, fertilizers, technology, and so on, from outside, but limited by the fact that these may be expensive (and increasingly so) and far from simple to organize and maintain. Options are diminished by changes in aspirations that have resulted in changes in attitudes to traditional agriculture (resulting in a general decline of pit taro cultivation) and some loss of skills and knowledge (principally as modern "school" knowledge replaces inherited traditional skills) that enable survival and success in environments often threatened by natural hazards.

In historic times atoll dwellers were extremely mobile and far from insular; men and women moved readily between islands in search of new land, disease-free sites, wives, trade goods, and so on. In this way some islands were populated, depopulated, and later repopulated. Mobility itself was responsible for demographic survival; without mobility, adaptation and change were impossible. It is a phenomenon of contemporary times that South Pacific populations are growing, and political boundaries and policies minimize long-distance migration. Without the flexibility that this kind of resettlement migration provides, the uncertainties and limitations of atoll environments are emphasized and either more permanent migration (usually to urban areas

elsewhere) or an uncertain dependence replaces it. The era of great voyages and ancient navigation skills is over, yet the most successful atoll communities are those where there has been considerable interdependence between atolls (Alkire 1978:146).

Some fifteen years ago Ward commented in the context of small Polynesian islands, "such a prospect seems sad, but it certainly seems that many of the smaller islands will cease to be viable socio-economic units as present trends in culture change continue" (Ward 1967:96, cited by Bedford 1980:57). Small islands are increasingly being thought of as "beautiful, but not places to live" (Bedford 1980:57). Before the last war, decisions about atoll and small island development were being made by "communities of stalwart natives . . . who are meeting and solving difficult problems in ingenious ways" (Thompson 1940, cited by Bedford 1980:57). At that time migration had scarcely begun to remove the young men, the potential future leaders. Increasingly, decisions about small island development are being made at a distance. Self-reliance is slipping away from atoll communities as residents demand more imported goods, welfare support, commodity price subsidies, and so on; that is, they demand comparability with more distant places. Even in much larger countries attempts to achieve self-reliance often appear no more than reflections of the aspirations that must suffice if growth cannot easily be achieved; as Joseph puts it, in the Nigerian context, self-reliance is "little more than a ritual for exorcising the devil of dependence" (1978:223). The problems involved in changing the whole trajectory of development are more than apparent.

It is improbable that atoll states can ever achieve a significant degree of self-reliance (unless, like Nauru, they discover new sources of mineral wealth), yet they are all capable of moving away from the present massive dependence on aid and trade. The elements of such a policy redirection are clear: agricultural development policies that stress diversification and vegetable production (while simultaneously encouraging the extension of new coconut varieties and replanting schemes to ensure some necessary cash income); land tenure reform and the taxation of unused agricultural land; increasing concentration on the exploitation and development of the marine resources that are the only obvious base of both export growth and improved nutrition; transport and energy policies that move away from the use of nonrenewable resources; job decentralization and allocation (along Kiribati lines); improved infrastructures (wharfs, aid posts, etc.); increased emphasis on family planning, and so on. Self-reliance then entails reducing dependence on imported "necessities" including foods, oil products, capital equipment,

and also expertise. This involves changing consumption patterns as well as increasing local productive capacity. Policies would be needed to change living styles at given income levels—using taxes, price policies, advertising, and perhaps rationing. This might also involve increasing national ownership of assets and improving national capacity for negotiating with transnational corporations and metropolitan countries, especially, in this context, those with fishing fleets (cf. Seers 1977a). In short, self-reliance entails a more selective approach to external influences of all kinds. In keeping with this orientation is the idea that factors that were previously regarded as “obstacles” to development, such as nationalism, separate languages, traditional customs, and so on, appear now rather as shields against the expense and inappropriateness of modern consumption styles and technologies (Seers 1977b). Despite the problems of achieving self-reliance there seems little real alternative to the future of economic and cultural dependence that would result from fluctuating strategies alternating between different ideologies and different internal and external sources of support—which are a function of the democratic process. The paradox is that many of these changes must be associated, at least initially, with foreign aid inputs. As the president of one small Micronesian state (Palau) with a number of atolls has argued, “we will have to use dependency to achieve self-sufficiency” (*New Pacific*, July 1981, p. 67). Simultaneously, development strategies may often fail to meet the aspirations of the young, especially as they run counter to perceived trends in metropolitan countries, and are (like land tenure reform) inherently difficult to implement. However, development requires not only government policy initiatives but also self-help and community involvement. Prescriptions that focus entirely on self-reliance, and not on interdependence, are unlikely to be taken in full for several reasons: the constraints of more than lingering demands for the prestige associated with modernization, westernization, and urban-industrial development; the difficulties attached to establishing rural projects (which are rarely prestigious); and the fact that concerted comprehensive policy formation in loosely structured, democratic states is already difficult to achieve (and development plans are sometimes nonexistent).

Development strategy for atolls is a priority in the Pacific. What is important is that there be a will to develop outlying areas and provide the infrastructure and income-earning opportunities that are almost an accepted part of urban life. Since development strategies that respond to this necessity are often complex (although projects themselves are rarely so), there is often a particular need for politicians, administra-

tors, and planners with the ability and commitment to institute and above all insure the continuity of both strategies and projects. At this stage in development planning in the South Pacific, population issues do not play a significant part despite the concern that governments express over related issues such as urbanization and the imbalance between employment opportunities, skills, and population distribution. This is perhaps particularly true of more fundamental and socially complex issues such as family planning (cf. Lucas and Ware 1981), which is conspicuous by its absence or low acceptability in most states of the South Pacific region. Consequently, policies that are oriented toward influencing population distribution by means of integrated development strategies, especially for the rural sectors, also tend to be conspicuous by their absence. However, there is growing evidence from recent trends in both French Polynesia and Kiribati that concern over the negative impact of "overurbanization" is beginning to result in the formulation of more comprehensive development strategies. It is perhaps from these countries, where innovative policies have been directed to atoll and national development, that analysis of this experience will indicate important lessons for other parts of the South Pacific.

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ARCHIBALD MENZIES' ACCOUNT
OF THE VISIT OF THE *DISCOVERY* TO RAPA AND TAHITI,
22 DECEMBER 1791-25 JANUARY 1792

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Archibald Menzies was botanist and surgeon on Vancouver's famous exploratory expedition of 1791-1795 with the ship *Discovery* and her tender *Chatham*. Menzies' very long and detailed journal of the voyage is held in the manuscript collection of the British Museum, London. While sections dealing with certain regions have been printed in various books and journals, the whole journal remains to be published. The original text of the description of the visit to Rapa and Tahiti is here published for the first time.¹

Menzies was born in Scotland in 1754. He first entered the naval service as assistant-surgeon, serving in the War of American Independence, after which he served at the Halifax Station as surgeon in HMS *Assistance*. In 1786 he sent specimens from his botanizing expeditions in North America to Sir Joseph Banks, the famous botanist who accompanied Captain Cook on his first great voyage of discovery and who took an active interest in all subsequent Pacific voyages for the rest of his life.² This was the beginning of a personal association with Banks of great significance for Menzies' career.

In 1787 and 1788 Menzies visited the northwestern Pacific as surgeon in the fur-trading vessel the *Prince of Wales*, when he made his first contact with Pacific Islanders at the Hawaiian Islands. After this voyage he sent Banks some detailed information about articles found most suitable for trading with the natives of the northwest coast of America.³

At the instance of Banks, Menzies was appointed botanist to a pro-

posed expedition to discover a northern sea route between Europe and the East. After several delays, the object of accepting the restitution of lands and property previously seized by the Spanish at Nootka Sound was added to the mission of the northwest expedition, which was eventually entrusted to the command of Captain George Vancouver. Menzies later also became surgeon on the *Discovery*, the flagship of the voyage, after the original surgeon was invalidated home.⁴

Sir Joseph Banks played a considerable part in the organization of the voyage. This was a source of irritation to Vancouver as it had been to previous commanders who had suffered from what they considered the interference of a layman in essential preparations for the expedition. Banks designed the greenhouse for the care of botanical specimens to be collected in the *Discovery* and personally issued instructions to Menzies. These instructions are of particular interest to historians in that they enjoined him to make observations about the human beings he should meet in strange places, as well as to examine and collect objects of interest to the natural sciences. He wrote:

At all places where a friendly intercourse with the Natives is established, you are to make diligent enquiry into all their manners, Customs, Language and Religion, and to obtain all the information in your power concerning their manufactures, particularly the art dyeing, in which Savages have been frequently found to excell, and if any part of their conduct, civil or religious, should appear to you so unreasonable as not to be likely to meet with credit when related in Europe, you are if you can do it with safety and propriety, to make yourself an Eyewitness of it, in order that the fact of its existence may be established on as firm a basis as the Nature of the enquiry will permit.⁵

As we shall see, Menzies did his best to obey this injunction at Tahiti, almost transgressing the bounds of "propriety" in his effort to view the funeral obsequies of a chief.

The *Discovery* and the *Chatham* left England on 1 April 1791. They sailed down the west coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, where Vancouver took aboard thirteen sheep intended as a present for the Tahitians (all of the animals died before they reached the islands). They then went almost due east to arrive at the southwest corner of Australia in September. Sailing south of the continent and the southern cape of Tasmania they made Dusky Bay in the south island of New Zealand by November, where they stayed three weeks. They then set out for Tahiti, but encountered a storm soon after leaving port, as a result of which the

two ships were parted. The *Discovery* sighted land the next day, which proved to be a group of barren islets named by Vancouver "the Snares."⁶ The *Chatham* was not seen again by the crew of the *Discovery* until they arrived at Matavai Bay, but in the meantime, as related by Menzies in the journal extract below, her commander, William Broughton, had made another discovery which he called "Chatham Island," about 450 miles east of New Zealand.

The *Discovery* had no further difficulty on her northeastward run to Tahiti. In December they fell in with an island now known as Rapa, but which Vancouver named "Oparo" with some hesitation, being doubtful of his interpretation of the name pronounced by the natives. The excerpt reproduced here takes up the narrative of the voyage at the point when Rapa hove in view.

After leaving the Society Islands toward the end of January 1792, the *Discovery* and *Chatham* sailed for Hawaii. In March they visited Kealakekua Bay where Cook had been killed, and also the islands of Oahu, Kauai, and Niihau. The ships then proceeded to their main business on the northwest coast of America. For almost a year they meticulously charted the coast, before taking a welcome break from the bitter northern winter for another stay in Hawaii in February 1793. On this visit they also surveyed the Hawaiian Islands. The expedition set sail once more for Nootka Sound at the end of March and, after further mapping of the northwest coast, returned for a third stay at Hawaii. There, on 25 February 1794, Vancouver accepted the cession of the island of Hawaii to Great Britain, a formality of which that country never took advantage. After completing the survey of the whole of the western coast of North America from San Francisco to Alaska—in the course of which the long-sought "northwestern passage" was finally proved to be nonexistent—the expedition sailed south from Nootka Sound in September 1794, rounding Cape Horn and making St. Helena in the south Atlantic in July 1795. The ships finally arrived home in England in October 1795. After a voyage of more than four and a half years, only one man out of 145 had died of illness. It was a tribute to the good management of Vancouver, who had taken strict measures to prevent the outbreak of scurvy and to keep the ship clean and free of vermin; it was also a compliment to the care and skill of his surgeon, Archibald Menzies.

* * * *

Menzies was thirty-seven years old when the *Discovery* left England, three years older than his commander. It was his first visit to Tahiti,

whereas Vancouver had already been there twice with Captain Cook, as a midshipman in the *Resolution* in 1773 and in the *Discovery* in 1777. Menzies therefore speaks at second hand when he discusses the "changes which have taken place" since Captain Cook's last visit;⁷ in this respect the account of Vancouver, who was revisiting the island after an interval of fourteen years, is more interesting than that of his botanist. Indeed, while recounting the report of political changes in Mo'orea Menzies falls into error respecting the relation of Mahine to his successor.⁸ On the other hand, Menzies went on several excursions on which Vancouver was not present—to Mo'orea, to the *marae* on the return journey from Mo'orea, and into the interior of Tahiti—so that his account of these visits, unlike Vancouver's, is firsthand. For other events when both men were present the perspective of each is different. Menzies' criticism of Vancouver's actions, particularly toward the end of the stay at Tahiti, is of great interest, but must be read in the context of the continual differences between the two men during the voyage.

The manuscript diaries of subordinate officers often contain expressions of disagreement, sometimes bitter, with their superiors. Given the severe limitations of space and company, perfect harmony among ships' officers over a long voyage was a rare achievement, and this voyage was much longer than most. The relationship between commander and naturalist was one always particularly prone to strain. On the side of the commander, there was the serviceman's uneasiness toward a gentleman on board whose relationship to himself was not strictly defined in professional terms. There was also often an unwillingness to divert manpower and equipment away from navigational duties to what appeared to him to be the less essential purposes of botanizing and the conservation of the collection. On the part of the naturalist, there was the impatience of a savant for the failure of the commander to understand his scientific requirements and to relax shipboard routine in order to fulfill them.

In this particular case there was the additional difficulty that Menzies was the protégé of the formidable Sir Joseph Banks. Banks liked to have a finger in the pie whenever a Pacific voyage was planned. It was at the request of Banks that "Tooworero," the young Hawaiian who had been brought to England on a fur-trader in 1789, was onboard the *Discovery* to be returned to his native land. As we have observed, Banks had recommended Menzies' appointment to the *Discovery*, although Vancouver had not wanted a naturalist on the expedition, and Menzies appears to have been directly answerable to Banks, rather than to the commander. Before the voyage began, Banks made known to Menzies his poor opinion of Vancouver.⁹

Throughout the journey, Menzies corresponded directly with his

patron, and his letters were full of complaints about Vancouver which he must have known would fall on receptive ears. In the third year of the voyage he wrote that "Captain Vancouver's disinclination for the success of the garden, has been pretty evident for some time back" and that "it was no unusual thing with him to be passionate and illiberal in his abuse whenever anything was represented to him relative to its safety."¹⁰ He also complained of insufficient access to use of the ship's boats for botanical duties and of not being allowed a man to look after the plant-frame during his absence on shore while pursuing his work. The hostile feeling between Menzies and Vancouver reached a climax toward the end of the journey when after a bitter exchange Vancouver ordered Menzies' arrest for "insolence and contempt."¹¹

One has to take this tension into account when assessing the validity of Menzies' criticism of Vancouver throughout his journal. It would seem, however, that Menzies' account of Vancouver's "thunderous threats" toward his former Tahitian friends was fairly close to the truth, for the commander's own account shows him to have reacted with disproportionate anger to relatively trifling provocations during the last days of his visit. His biographer believes that in these episodes Vancouver was showing early symptoms of the illness that was to take his life only three years after his return to England at the early age of forty-one years.¹²

Menzies confided to Banks that when the papers associated with the voyage were demanded by the commander in order to write the official account, he intended to seal up his journal and address it directly to Banks.¹³ Accordingly, when the papers were requested as the voyage approached its end, Menzies refused to hand over his journal. As he happened to be under arrest at the time this act of defiance undoubtedly gave him particular satisfaction. On arrival in London, Vancouver applied to have Menzies court-martialed for breach of orders at sea. The affair was resolved when Menzies formally apologized to his commander and Vancouver thereupon withdrew his charges.¹⁴

Upon his return home to England, Menzies worked furiously to finish his account of the voyage before the publication of Vancouver's journal. His letters show that he had the "friendly admonitions" and "solicitations" of Banks in this somewhat sordid race to print which Menzies clearly wanted to win, as he admitted, "for more reasons than one."¹⁵ But in this he was disappointed. Although Vancouver died in May 1798 before completing his own work, it was finished by his brother John and published in the same year, while Menzies' journal languished in obscurity for a century and a half, the whole of it unpublished to this day.

From a list in the Banks Papers we hear of the "Curiosities" that Men-

zies brought back from his voyage. From Tahiti came the following items, to be deposited in the British Museum.

Prai, or complete Mourning Dress; Taoma or Breast Plate; Feather Pendants of a large canoe; Stone Adzes; Basket curiously wrought of Cocoa Nut fibres; Mat of the finest kind; a Bag of Matting; a number of paterns of the different kind of cloth manufactured by the Natives; Bows and Arrows; A collection of shells; Lines of finely platted human Hair; Fish Hooks.¹⁶

If Vancouver had more success in posterity, Menzies outbid him in this world, living on to old age in comfort and honor. After his next voyage, which took him to the West Indies, he retired from the navy and practiced privately as a surgeon. Menzies was elected a fellow of the Linnaean Society, eventually becoming its president. He wrote four papers for learned journals on the subject of his scientific discoveries. He died in London in 1842 at the age of eighty-eight, bequeathing his botanical collection to the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens.

* * * *

The notes to the text have been kept to a minimum. The identity of some of the Tahitian characters, whose names were changed in the course of the first period of English contact, is a matter of dispute among ethnographers. The editor wished only to put Menzies' version before the public without interpretation on this matter, therefore only one fairly obvious error of relationship has been commented upon. Modern place-names are given where the one used in the account is obsolete. Dates of journal entries have been regularized for the reader's convenience.

NOTES

1. A French version, also edited by Shineberg, appeared in *Bulletin de la Société des Océanistes* No. 214, vol. 18, no. 3 (March 1981): 789–826.
2. C. F. Newcombe, ed., *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's voyage*, Archives of British Columbia, Memoir no. 5 (Victoria, 1923), p. viii; Bern Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea* (Toronto, 1960), p. 45.
3. Richard H. Dillon, "Archibald Menzies' Trophies," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 15 (1951): 155–156.

4. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, 44–46; 113.
5. Quoted by Dillon, “Archibald Menzies’ Trophies,” 154–155.
6. South of Stewart Island, New Zealand. A few hours later, the *Chatham* also “discovered” the islands, Lt. Broughton giving them the name “Knight’s Islands,” but Vancouver’s name prevailed. I. H. Nicholson, *Gazeteer of Sydney Shipping 1788–1840* (Canberra, 1981).
7. Journal extract, see below, p. 99.
8. Journal extract, see below, p. 73.
9. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, 46.
10. Menzies to Banks, on board the *Discovery*, 18 November 1793, Banks Papers, vol. 9, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
11. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, 210.
12. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, particularly pages 66–67, where the author suggests that the commander was suffering from “Graves’ disease,” a hyperthyroid condition.
13. Menzies to Banks, on board the *Discovery*, Valparaiso, 26 March 1795, Banks Papers, vol. 9, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
14. George Goodwin, *Vancouver, A Life. 1757–1798* (London, 1930), p. 147.
15. Menzies to Banks, Berkeley Square, 3 January 1798, Banks Papers, vol. 9, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
16. From a manuscript in Banks Papers, Sutro Branch, State Library of California, San Francisco; quoted by Dillon, “Archibald Menzies’ Trophies,” 157.

Archibald Menzies’ Account

22 Dec. 1791. Early on the morning of the 22nd Land was discoverd bearing North East by North about 16 leagues off, at this distance it made in two small hillocs with a picked rock a little detached to the South Eastward bearing some resemblance to a Vessel under Sail. We stood towards this land to have a nearer view of it & passed several patches of sea weed floating on the surface of the water which provd to be one of the varieties of the Trucus natans. We also saw Terns Tropic Birds (Phaeton melanorhynchos) but their number was very inconsiderable & the whole tribe of Albatrosses & Petrels had for some days past totally deserted us. In the forenoon the Sky became clear & serene, afforded an excellent opportunity to take lunar observations which was not neglected, & the mean of these carried on to the Island makes its Longitude $215^{\circ}57'$ east of Greenwich¹ & its Latitude deduced from a Meridian altitude of the Sun at Noon is $27^{\circ}36'$ South.

At noon we were within 6 leagues of the Island & as we approachd

nearer, it presented a most rugged appearance for the Shore on the Western side rose here & there in high naked perpendicular cliffs & precipices that in some places overhung their base & appear to be composed of horizontal strata the summits of these presented picked rocks & rugged shivers, irregularly piled & forming broken ridges & deep chasms over the whole Island, which seemed to be about 6 or 7 leagues in circumference & a little more elevated towards the North & Southward than in the middle. Some detachd rocks were seen close to the shore in several places. The South end was of a height sufficient to be seen 15 leagues off, & resembled in its figure the perpendicular semi-section of a cone. Some appearances were also seen like fortified places upon the very summits of some of the hills considerably elevated, at one time five of these were in sight & each bore some resemblance to a large block-house fenced round at a little distance with a high wall of stone or turf.

About 3 in the afternoon several Canoes were seen coming off from the Shore which convindc us that this dreary looking Island was inhabited & we now began to think that these strong-holds were no doubt what their appearance at first suggested to us—places of defence.

When we got within a league of the Shore we brought to for the Canoes to come up with us abreast of a small Bay on the North West side of the Island & though we had no Sounding with a hundred & eighty fathoms of line where we were, yet there was a likelihood of anchorage close in as there was no reef or any other apparent obstruction, & the shore round the Bay appeard sandy & was washd by a very moderate surf.

At first we found it a very difficult task to bring any of the Canoes along side of us with all the amicable signs & invitations we could think of. [T]hey appeard exceeding cautious & fearful & kept at some distance gazing on us with seeming admiration & astonishment, the only returns they made to our entreaties were by pointing now & then with their paddles to the Shore as if they meant us to go nearer in or to land. At last one of the Canoes ventured so near to the Ship that a bunch of Beads & a few Iron Nails were thrown into her which seemed instantly to dispel their apprehensions & acted as a more powerful incentive than any other method made use of, so that with a little more persuasion one of them came on board, who was soon followd by several others; & everything they saw struck them with so much novelty, that they could not fix their eyes or minds upon any one object for a single moment. They moved about the Vessel taking little notice of us, & endeavouring to appropriate to themselves every thing they could lay their hands on,

especially Iron, which metal they were more eager after than any thing else, so that it was often necessary to restrain them from pillaging us thus openly, by main force, as they would not otherwise be prevailed upon to give up the booty which they had thus unlawfully acquired—The belaying pins on the quarter deck, the hooks & eyes about the guns & rigging & every thing about the Forge particularly attracted their roving eyes & hands which incessantly moved about with the utmost rapidity. One of them seeing an Anchor laying on the forecastle attempted to take it up with the same strength that he would apply to a piece of timber of an equal bulk & appeard much surprized when he could not move it—examind round it to see where it was fastend to the deck. Another seeing himself reflected in a large mirror in the cabin began making a yelling noise dancing & capering before it for several minutes & seeing all his actions so well mimicked that he could not any ways out do his imitator he approachd it with a blow which had not his hand been with held would in a moment have brought down the whole fabric, but when he afterwards coolly felt the glass & found it a smooth solid surface, he then attempted to insinuate his hand behind it, imagining no doubt that the Buffooner must be standing at the back of it.

So much were their attentions & curiosities absorbd with every thing they saw & so busily were they employd in this manner during their stay on board that it was with great difficulty we got them to count their numerals to ten, which we found to agree exactly with those of Otaheite, & a few other words which they repeated convinced us that they spoke a dialect of the same general language, but so modified from their local situation that even *Tooworero*² could understand very little of what they said. This being the case I think it is probable that *Oparoo* may not be the real name of the Island, though it was often their answer to our interrogation on that head and therefore adopted.

These natives are of a middling stature stout & in general well proportiond & though of a dark brown complexion yet their features varied in almost every instance appearing mild open & full of vivacity. Their temper seemd even & good natured, at least it was not easily ruffled by any little disappointment they met with on board. They suffer their beards to grow long, but their hair which is naturally streight was croppd short round about the nape of the neck & their ears were perforated though we saw them wear no ornaments in them excepting the nails they got from us. None of our visitors were in the least tatooed & this deviation from a custom so general among the natives of this Ocean may deserve particular notice.

The only cloathing they wore were a narrow slip of cloth made from

the bark of a tree which passed round their waist & between their legs, this cloth appear to be a very scarce article amongst them as many of them had not sufficient of it to cover their nakedness, it was evident however that they generally wore something for that purpose, as some of them had bunches of the leaves of a species of *Dracena* suspended to a girdle round their middle for that intention.

Their Canoes were small & narrow but neatly formed, rising a little at each end to a sharp point with out riggers fitted to them—similar to the generality of Canoes in this Ocean. They had also double canoes with Sails constructed in the same manner, & though we observd no wood or Timber on the Island of a size capable of making their canoes yet they did not seem to be a scarce article among the Natives, for at one time we counted no less than 30 canoes about the Ship & between us & the Shore, eight or nine of them were double ones each of which had upwards of 20 men, & few of the single Canoes had less than five men, many of them had more, so that we estimated the number of people that came off in these Canoes from this Bay to be about 300, & as there were no women children or any very old people seen amongst them I think it may be safely inferrd that they were not one fifth of the Inhabitants of this little Valley, which from thence would amount to upwards of 1500. But I would not from this conclude that the Island is very numerously inhabited, perhaps the environs of this Bay may contain one half of their whole number.

Excepting a few small fish caught, none of these canoes brought off any kind of refreshments—either Hogs Poultry or Vegetables, so that we remain entirely ignorant of the produce of this Island or the refreshments which in a case of necessity and hereafter likely to be derived from it, though I must confess that some knowledge of these circumstances, which at this time was so easily to be acquired, might prove very satisfactory & perhaps a great utility to future Navigators traversing this wide Ocean.

The valley round the bottom of the Bay is tolerably pleasant when compard with other parts of the Island being scatterd over with Bushes among which we could perceive the habitations of the Natives & some little signs of Cultivation, the hills behind & on the South Side of it appeard thinly coverd with some verdure & here & there wooded with some scrubby Trees particularly in the hollow places between the hills, but they seemed of no great magnitude. Towards the North end the hills are not so rugged & rocky but ascend with a smooth surface coverd with grass & destitute of Trees or bushes of any kind. We observed no Cocoa Nut Trees any where on the Island.

We think it not improbable that there may be some other land in the vicinity of this Island either to the Eastward or South East of it, & though we saw no appearance of any, yet there are two circumstances already mentioned which in some measure favor this conjecture viz. those places observd on the tops of the hills which from their situation & appearance we could not reconcile to any thing else than places of defence for the purpose no doubt of affording a more secure retreat & protection to the Inhabitants when their Country is invaded by some neighbouring tribe. The other is our not having seen any wood or Timber on the Island likely to furnish & keep up such a number of fine Canoes, there is therefore a strong probability of their being supplied with at least the greatest part of them from some other place.

This is all I have to say concerning this little Island which we now call *Oparoo*.³ At five in the afternoon we filled & made sail again to the Northward.

23 Dec. 1791. On the morning of the 23rd *Oparoo* was still in sight bearing South East by South about 17 leagues astern of us—we had a fresh breeze from the South East quarter but fluctuating from point to point this and the following day.

25 Dec. 1791. The wind was easterly on the 25th & in the morning squally, with rain, the rest of the day it blew fresh with cloudy unsettled weather, so that it was not deemed prudent to run on all night being near the situation of Gloucester Island,⁴ we therefore brought to & made Sail again next morning when we had the same wind & dark squally weather with heavy rain & turbulent sea.

27 Dec. 1791. In the night preceeding the 27th the wind veerd again to the North East equator, so that we had to contend this & the following day with baffling weather & foul wind which sometimes blew very fresh & squally with thunder lightning & almost constant heavy rain.

29 Dec. 1791. Early on the 29th we passed *Osnaburg Island*⁵ which was soon to the Eastward of us at the distance of almost 9 or 10 leagues with a fresh breeze that towards noon brought us in sight of the South End of *Otaheite* being S 70 W but in the afternoon the wind being somewhat scanty, our progress by no means kept pace with our wishes, for our near approach to the place of rendezvous put our anxiety now upon the edge to know something of the fate of our Consort & enjoy those refreshments to which this fertile Island so plentifully affords among a happy people whose mild disposition & simplicity of manners have endeared them to former Voyagers. In the evening we got sight of the northern extreme of the Island, but judging we should not be able to reach it before dark we tackd & lay off & on for the night.

30 Dec. 1791. In the morning of Dec.¹ 30th. we stood in again for Point Venus with a light breeze & when we came near the land three men came off to us in a Canoe with some Hogs. They first handed in a very small pig with a green bough as a peace offering & then two small Hogs as presents for the Captain. These people informd us that a vessel with two Masts was at anchor in Matavai Bay which we had no doubt of being our Consort, & when we anchord there about noon we found the Chatham agreeable to our expectations had arrivd here four days before us & (to our no small satisfaction) all in good health. Her Commander Lieutenant Broughton came on board before we anchord & told us that the night we parted company they continued following us until a violent sea broke over their stern & shatterd their little boat to pieces which obligd them to bring to for the safety of the Vessel till the storm somewhat abated, & we finding our safety in scudding before the gale will readily account for the separation. But on the afternoon following he said a still greater danger presented them, for on discovering these dreary rocks we called the *Snares* they were so situated as to be obliged to pass by a small Channel through the very middle of them. Having thus happily escapd shipwreck they purs'd their course to this Island & in their way discoverd what they named *Chatham Islands* in honor of the first Lord of the Admiralty. They coasted along the North side of them & surveyd the shore for 10 or 12 leagues, the Northern extreme of which they place in Latitude 43° 49' South & in Longitude 183° 40' East of Greenwich. They came to an anchor in a Bay where the Commander & some of the Officers landed & took posession of the Country in his Britannic Majesty's name, but their most amicable endeavours either by presents or otherwise proved ineffectual to bring the Natives to a friendly intercourse.

Two days before our arrival here they experiencd such a deluge of rain attended with thunder & lightning as none of them ever recollectcd to have seen the like before, the River of Matavai broke through its high banks, bringing down with the impetuosity of the stream vast numbers of trees torn up by the roots which now lay scatterd through the Bay. The Chatham's Cutter filled & swamped along side in the night time, when the Masts Oars & Sails were washd away & the Surf ran so high that they were not able to land till the evening before our arrival when the weather became more moderate & mild.

Lieutenant Broughton had not yet been visited by any of the Royal Family, indeed he understood that they were all at Eimeo⁶ excepting young Otoo⁷ who had sent him a message in the forenoon requesting to see him on shore, & after the Discovery was Moord Capt. Vancouver

Lt. Broughton Mr. Whidbey myself & two Chiefs went on shore to meet him. We landed on Point Venus & walkd but a little way when we were met by the usual peace offerings a small pig with a green bough & in presenting these to Capt. Vancouver the man squatted down & repeated a few short sentences in which he was answerd on our part by Mooree one of the Chiefs who attended us, after this we were conducted across the breach which the river had lately made through the Beach to a little distance beyond it where we found the young prince elevated on a man's shoulders & robed in a dress ornamented with feathers which formd a ruff round his neck by no means inelegant. The Natives were arrangd on his right & left leaving a clear open area for our approach. On coming within a few yards of him we were stop'd & adress'd in a short speech by a man who stood near the prince—This drew one of considerable length on our part from Mooree, who then divided Mr. Broughton's intended present which was very considerable into four equal parts & each of us being then wrapped round in a quantity of Island Cloth separately carried our presents & laid them upon a Mat close to the young prince. After which we were admitted to a conference in which he requested with great earnestness to send a boat to Eimeo for his father, the reason he could not come back in his own Canoe we could not comprehend but many of the Chiefs being equally solicitous & Capt. Vancouver considering his presence of great importance during our stay promisd to comply with this request on the following day, at the same time requesting leave to erect our tents on a spot of ground near the point which was complied with without hesitation.

This young prince appears to be about ten years of age & if one may venture to predict at so early a period he seems to posess talents which when matur'd by age & experience will not fail to qualify him in a high degree for that elevated station he is born to hold—His appearance is firm & graceful, his behaviour affable & easy & his features pleasant & regular though sometimes clouded with a degree of austerity that enables him already to command immediate obedience to his will among these mild people.

After this conference was over Captain Vancouver fixed on the spot where the Tents were to be erected & on coming to the Boat found a large Hog from young Otoo which was brought on board with another that was presented to me by Mooree, & on coming along side we found the Natives numerously collected & a market already established for the different refreshments. Captain Vancouver now askd me if I would accompany an officer on the following day to Eimeo for the King,⁸ to which I willingly consented.

31 Dec. 1791. On the 31st. I accompanied Lt. Mudge & Mr. Collet the Gunner in the Pinnace to *Eimeo*, we were attended by *Motooara* the chief of *Huaheina* a very stout & intelligent man as a guide. On putting off from the Ship the Natives who were numerously collected along side cheerd us with repeated plaudits & the shores reechoed the name of their King which is a great proof of their strong attachment & veneration for a man under whose mild government they have so long enjoyd ease & happiness.

We now directed our course for *Eimeo* & passing the entrance of the Harbour where Capt. Cook anchored, we soon enterd a very intricate gap in the reef under the sole guidance of our Conductor & went round the North End on the inside of several small Islands & from thence coasted the western shore for about four Miles further to a place called *Wharraree* where we arriv'd about two in the afternoon. Here the boat was brought to a grapping & a message sent to *Otoo*, for we were not permitted to land till he came to receive us, which he did in about an hour after with the rest of the Royal Family followd by a large group of the Natives.

After spreading several Bales of Cloth on the Beach opposite to us we were then invited to land, & *Otoo* himself receivd us with open arms & embracd us separately with that friendly cordiality which has ever distinguishd his character & attachment to the British Nation. He then introduced us to the Queen⁹ & two other ladies & a sick chief who lay on a litter close by him. After these salutations we were wrapped up in such a quantity of Cloth by his own hand that we could hardly move under it. In this situation we made our presents to him which consisted only of two Axes a few knives scissors looking glasses & some beads.

We now asked *Otoo* when he would be ready to accompany us to *Matavai*, he answerd tomorrow morning & having got by his own request a Bottle of Wine & some Ship's Biscuit out of the Boat he sat down to it with a keen relish, & on putting the first draught of it to his head he drank to King George & *Britanee*, & while finishing the rest of his Bottle, he askd us a number of pert questions such as the names of both vessels & their Commanders how long they were from *Britanee* did they touch at New Holland and where they were going after they left *Otaheite*.

He then askd if Mr. Webber was on board or any one in his place, & when he was answerd in the negative he expressd his concern as he wishd much to send his son's picture to the King of *Britanee*.

He askd if *Bane* was still alive (by which he meant Sir Joseph Banks) & whether he would again visit *Otaheite*.

As Mr. Collet was with Capt. Cook in his last Voyage he recollects him the moment he landed & askd him after a number of his old acquaintance & questiond him particularly about Capt. Cook's death whose fate he seemd to bewail with real sorrow. During the above conversation we constantly called him by the name of Otoo, but he now took an opportunity to put us right, by telling us that the name Otoo descended to his son who was now King of Otaheite & that he adopted the name of *Pomarre* by which we must in future call him.

Pomarre then took us a little aside from the party to see his father Old Whapai a chief well known in Capt. Cook's first & second visits to these Islands; We found him seated on a Mat & on presenting him with a few small trinkets, he hardly got hold of them when they were tore out of his hand in a squabble by the Multitude who seemd to consider him as their common prey. He appears to have seen at least eighty revolutions of the seasons—his hair & beard are quite silverd over with age, yet he walks as upright & seemingly with as much ease & firmness as his Son.

We walked along the Beach followed by the sick chief carried on his litter & a large concourse of the Natives to a house at a little distance where dinner was prepar'd for us & the Boats Crew & where we remaind all night with the noble family, during which they went by turns up to *Romee*¹⁰ the sick chief whom they all treated with such care & tenderness as induc'd me to enquire more particularly into his history & was told that he was the *Earee rahie no Morea* that is King of Morea which is another name for this Island,* that he & Pomarre are reciprocally brothers in law by interchanging sisters in marriage & that his name was *Motooaro-mahow*. Though his name is changed in consequence of his coming to the Sovereignty of the Island on the death of *Maheine* there is no doubt but he is the same chief who this district belongd to in Captain Cook's time, for in that expedition after the stolen Goats across the Island, it was here Capt. Cook met with his Boats & ceased committing any further depredations knowing that the Chief & his Dependants were friends to the Otaheitean King, & how far he was right the sequel has proved for the oldest sister to this chief became soon after Queen of Otaheite & Mother to the present Royal family. Pomarre's youngest sister was about the same time given in Marriage to that Chief & is now Queen of this Island, so that their friendship stands on the firmest basis, & to cement it still more Pomarre has lately taken to

*Cook's last Voyage Vol. 2. p. 28
Foster's Obs: p:217 [Menzies' own footnote]

himself another sister of *Motooaro-mahow* named *Whaerede*¹¹ so that he lives at present with both sisters & is very fond of the youngest but has no children by her—indeed I suspect that the cruel customs of the Country would not suffer them to live.

In our walk along shore we observd the dung of Black Cattle in several places, & on enquiring after the animals themselves the Natives told us there were four Cows and a Bull on this district which we understood were all that remaind of the breed left by Capt. Cook at Otaheite in 1777 & which soon after fell to the lot of *Maheine* King of this Island in a victorious descent on the Island of Otaheite. They have since remaind here & are considerd as the property of *Motooaro-mahow* successor to *Maheine*. The natives call them *Bova-toora* & say they are very wild in consequence of which we could not see them, but what was most to be lamented the Bull is by some means or other incapacitated, consequently there is no likelihood of any further increase of the breed.

1 Jan. 1792. The first of January 1792. This morning we proposd to Pomerre to set off pretty early, that the people might perform the fatiguing task of rowing across with more comfort before the sultry heat of the day set in; he told us he had no objection & that besides himself & his two wives, *Motooaro-mahow* & his wife & the Chief of *Huaheine* were going with us. On this occasion it was observd to him that the Boat could not carry so many without greatly incommoding the rowers & especially that the sick Chief could not be accommodated comfortably without our being deprivd of the use of several Oars. He answerd that he could not go on with us unless we also took his friends, and finding this his fixed resolution, we were no longer at a loss to comprehend the reason why the Boat was so earnestly requested to come for him, and therefore proposd that the sick Chief should be laid in the stern sheets of the Boat while he & the Chief of *Hueheine* should attend him & that the three ladies should accompany us in a Canoe as we could not accommodate them in the Boat to our satisfaction. This was readily agreed to & on getting the sick chief into the Boat the three ladies came & took a very affectionate leave of him & promisd to be with us at Otaheite on the following day.

After putting off we rowed along the western shore to go round the South West point of the island & on our way met with Pomerre's Mother *Opeereeroa* who came off to us in a double Canoe with a present of Cloth—On approaching the Boat she burst into tears & seemd inconsolable while she remaind along side, frequently uttering the name of Capt. Cook which sufficiently showed the sincerity of her affections & the tenderness of her feeling for the memory of a Man whose whole

tenor of conduct was constantly actuated for the good of mankind in general & in the latter part of his life for these happy isles in particular. We made her some little presents & regretted much it was not in our power to be more liberal, & having taken our leave of this venerable lady whose looks & appearance alone would command respect, we directed our course for Otaheite.

While we were crossing over being in company with the Chief of Huaheine I made some inquiries of him about *Omia*¹² who was left on that Island, & he assurd me that he was not in the least molested in this settlement after Captain Cook left him, on the contrary that people of all ranks flock'd round him with their aid & much respected him for his great knowledge and observations, which he frequently took great pleasure to communicate, by relating to crowded groups of his countrymen in pleasing stories what he had seen & heard of the manners & customs of other nations & countries, by which he always rivetted their attention with astonishment & admiration & procurd their affection with esteem, so that his death was much lamented by people of all denominations—in short they seemd to revere him as a Character who had travelled far, seen much, & profited by the observations he made on the different countries he visited.

He & his two faithfull adherents the New Zealand Boys died of a disease called here *Assa no peppe* which particularly affects the throat with soreness & tumours & is said to be brought to these Islands by a Spanish Vessel in the Year 1773*. Though I wishd much to see the symptoms & appearances of this disorder which is said to have made great havock among the natives, yet I must confess that my feelings were equally gratified in finding that it is now a rare occurrence, for I did not observe a single case of it in all my excursions during our stay at Otaheite.

I further understood that Omai's English house still remains in its original place, having been preservd by a large one built over it after the manner of the Country as Capt. Cook had recommended, & that this together with his Plantation & his Horse which is the only one remaining of the breed is now in the posession of this Chief & became his property as King of the Island agreeable to the custom of the Country on the decease of the owner.

About 9 at night we arrivd at Pomerre's residence in Oparre after rowing about 8 miles along the shore being set so far to leeward by

*Cook's 2 Voy. Vol. p. [Menzies' own footnote]

unfavorable winds & currents. On landing Pomerre orderd plenty of victuals to be provided, & we all supped with a keen appetite, after which we retird to rest—The three Chiefs preferrd sleeping in the Boat with two Seamen & the rest of the Crew provided themselves with Beds more to their satisfaction on shore.

Pomerre still retains that mark of his former dignity of not feeding himself, & now we had an instance of his abstaining a whole day from food & drink on account of his not having a proper person in the boat to feed him, though we frequently offerd to perform this servile office, which he always modestly refused.

2 Jan. 1792. As we had still eight miles to row we again embarkd on the 2d. of January by the dawn of day with the addition of one Man to our party who seated himself forward in the bow of the boat holding a small pig & a green bough in his hand, this we thought was intended as a peace offering on our arrival at the ship but we soon found our mistake, for on coming opposite to a *Morai* named *Tapootapooatea* Pomerre desird to be landed & requested us to follow him as he was here he said going to make an offering to the *Eatooa* or Deity.

On coming to the *Morai* we found several of the Natives already assembled—The Young King had taken his station before the Altar on a mans shoulders & close to him another supported a large oblong bundle of white Cloth—On approaching within nine or ten paces of these we made a full stop. Pomerre was now complimented by several Chiefs as they arrivd, who seemd to vie with each other in expressing their joy at seeing him & on this occasion none of them came empty handed, but I did not observe all this while that he exchangd a single word with his son.

The ceremony now commenced & the first part of it consisted in an address to Pomerre from a Priest seated near Otoo, who sent over to him separately at intervals of his harangue several Pigs & Hogs two Dogs one Fowl & a bunch of red feathers which we supposd to be the presents of the different Chiefs thus consecrated as they were offerd to him, but he never touchd any of them, they were carried away the moment they were presented. After this two priests seated themselves on the ground close to us & one of them began to address the opposite side in a long harangue or a prayer which was now & then dictated by Pomerre. In this oraison the Priest often changed his voice from a slow solemn tone to that of a quick & squeaking one, in which he was at times joind by the other. At last a small Hog was sent over to the King which was the victim to be sacrificed on this occasion, & as the name of our sick friend *Motoora-mahow Earee rahie no Morea* was frequently mentioned in

this prayer, we supposd it might be a supplication to the Deity to prolong his life.

The Hog was now led to the back part of the *Morai* followd by the priests & Otoo; & Pomerre seating himself down in conversation with the Chiefs, we obtaind his leave to follow Otoo & see the remaining part of the ceremony. The Hog was immediately strangled cleand & half roasted over some hot-stones & then brought before a small Altar on which was placd the bundle of White Cloth; here Otoo attended & a Priest squatting down close to it uttered a short prayer in a quick shrill voice ending with a loud shriek. In this devotion he was now & then accompanied with two drums—The victim was then placed on a *Whatta* or scaffold which already groand under a stinking load of such sacrifices.

This *Morai* appear to be a considerable place of worship if we may judge from the number of human skulls that lay scatterd near the Altar & which we were told had been sacrificed at different times to the Deity, and the vast number of animals & vegetables that were heapd on different *whattas* & mouldering away by putrifaction. Having satisfied our curiosity & observing nothing but what has been fully described by former Voyagers we set off for the Ship, but no inducement could prevail on the young King to accompany us, though we were very urgent with him.

When we approachd the *Discovery* Pomerre was saluted with four Guns & on his arrival on board, the Chatham honord him with an equal number amidst incessant shouts of approbation & joy from every Canoe throughout the Bay. In the evening the three ladies arrivd from Eimeo & Pomerre finding himself so comfortably situated remaind on board with his friends all night.

Motooaro-mahow staid in the boat from the time of our leaving Eimeo till he was hoisted in on board the *Discovery* & bore the fatiguing motion of it much better than we at first expected, for we were really apprehensive of his dying on the passage he was so emaciated by a general atrophy that he appeard a mere animated skeleton & yet bore the prospect of his approaching fate & lingering illness with a becoming patience & resignation. Pomerre was remarkably attentive to him seldom left his bed side & administred every care & comfort he could in performing the most servile offices for his dying friend.

The Tents & observatory were this day sent on shore & erected on the spot allotted for them on our first landing & to give them a greater security three field pieces were mounted on their carriages & pointed to different avenues. Lt. Puget who commanded the party on shore during

our stay performd this duty with much activity, in which he said he was greatly assisted by the friendly behaviour of the Natives who voluntarily carried the different articles from the boat to the place of encampment with a degree of honesty that surpassed our expectation & gave us no small hopes of an amicable intercourse.

3 Jan. 1792. On the 3^d the Time-keepers from both Vessels were landed & a series of Observations began to ascertain their rates by Mr. Whidbey Master of the Discovery assisted by Mr. Ballard. Another large Tent was also erected on Shore to screen the artificers employd on various duties particularly in building the Chatham a small Boat—from the Sultry heat of the Sun's vertical rays & that the curiosity of the Natives might not prove troublesome to our various plans of operations, lines were drawn round the encampment to limit their approach & Sentries regularly reliev'd night & day to prevent any encroachment.

After dinner Pomarre went on shore with his sick friend & all the rest of our Royal Guests attended by a numerous retinue. On leaving the Discovery they were saluted with four guns & on their landing on Point Venus by a discharge of the Artillery at the Encampment. They took up their abode in a small insignificant hut near our Lines, which had no claim at least in appearance to a royal residence, but Pomarre's reason for that apparently incommoding himself & family was that he might be near to us to preserve good order among his people as he still administred the government for his son who was considerd in some respect as a Minor.

4 Jan. 1792. The 4th. continued dark & gloomy, the wind was moderate but variable with intervals of calm. The trees that were washd down the river by the late deluge kept still floating about on the inside of the Bay & Lt. Broughton fearful that they might injure the Chatham's cables shifted her place nearer to Point Venus.

In the evening we had a very heavy fall of rain & a long rolling swell made into the bay. Reopaia,¹³ Pomarre's next brother came on board to warn us of a change of weather & requested leave to stay that if it should be necessary, he might be present to give any assistance that lay in his power to command, which was granted & his wife remaind with him.

5 Jan. 1792. In the forenoon of the 5th the appearance of the weather strongly indicating a gale of wind induc'd Capt. Vancouver to give orders to drop the sheet anchor especially as a heavy sea rolled at the same time into the Bay, breaking incessantly over our Gun wales by the rolling of the Vessel & dashing against the Beach close to us in a violent surf, which renderd our situation by no means a pleasant one. This tem-

pestuous weather however did not deter some of our friends from coming off. Moerie & Mathiabe two chiefs who had already attachd themselves to us by their friendly behaviour, observing both Vessels labour so much at their anchors, dashd into the surf & braving its utmost fury with that dexterity of art which renders them always superior to the most forcible commotions of the briny element, they came on board to know our situation & whether they could be of any service to us. After they rested a little, we trusted Mathiabo with a Keg of Liquor lashd on a board, to the party on shore, for the sea ran so high that all communication between them & us in any other way was entirely stopt & we were happy to learn from himself soon after that he landed safe with his Keg, which proved very acceptable at the Encampment.

In the afternoon the weather gradually moderated with less sea & towards evening a few Canoes venturd to come off, in one of which Pomerre paid us a visit & paddled the Canoe himself.

This day the young king visited the encampment for the first time & was constantly carried about upon a man's shoulders. The officers made him some presents, but no inducement could prevail on him to enter either of the Tents or Markees & the Natives said if he had that no subject darst be seen there afterwards according to the established custom of the Country.

6 Jan. 1792. The weather on the 6th was more settled but a heavy surf still broke on the beach & as we were not beyond the reach of its influence the ship continu'd rolling very much.

Reopaia considerd our safety now so apparent that his presence was no longer necessary. He therefore went on shore accompanied by his wife. The seeming anxiety of this chief for our welfare while he remaind on board in this tempestuous weather was equal to that of a watchful Pilot's, for in the dead hours of the night he frequently visited the Deck to observe the appearances of the weather & view the Cables.

We were told that the Bounty in her last visit to this Island had left the greatest part of the Mutineers on shore & saild so abruptly in the night time, that they cut her Cables & left her anchors in the Bay one of which this Chief afterwards recoverd, & on his Majesty's Frigate the Pandora's arrival he carried it on Board & presented it to Captain Edwards as belonging to the King of *Britanee* which was a great proof of his honesty & peculiar regard to our Sovereign.

Reopaia is a few years younger than Pomerre & considerd at present the greatest warriour in the Island—He has quite changd their mode of fighting, which formerly used to be in large unwieldy war canoes, instead of which he transports his warriours quicker & with more ease

in smaller ones, makes good his landing & attacks the enemy on shore, where by his strategems good conduct & bravery he generally gains his point. He is very pleasing in his manners, firm & graceful in his gait, communicative in his conversation pert in his enquiries—quick in his discernment & sincere in his attachment, as we found by that particular veneration he continues to pay to the memory of Captain Clark,¹⁴ whose friend he was & whose name he still bears in preference to any other however honorable, for we were inform'd that sometime ago he lead the warriours of his Country in a victorious battle, & on returning home they wished to confer upon him a name expressive of his great exploits & conquests, this he modestly refused, telling them that he was already called *Tate* (Clarke) which was sufficient.

7 Jan. 1792. In consequence of intimations being given by Capt. Vancouver on the preceeding days that fire works would be displayd this evening at the Encampment, a great number of natives assembled from distant parts of the Country. Among the group before the Tents in the forenoon three of Pomarre's young family made their appearance. Otoo the young king of Otaheite paid us indeed daily visits, but his brother *Whyadooaa*¹⁵ a prince about eight years of age with pleasing open features, had not been seen before by any of us—he came on this occasion from *Tiaraboo* which is now considerd as his principality & of which he had very lately taken possession. These two brothers were accompanied by a sister named *Otahoorai* who was not yet above six years of age & she as well as her brothers were constantly carried about on a Man's back & no inducement could bring either of them under the shelter of our Pavilions. We are told that another sister still younger named *Ora* was at this time at Eimeo which makes up the whole of the present young royal family.

In the afternoon the field pieces on shore were fired off several times chargd with round & grape shot towards the Sea, to shew the Natives their effects & the distance to which they could transmit their destructive powers. But when the fire works were to be displayd in the evening, it was not an easy matter to prevail on Pomarre to come from among the group into the clear area where he might have a better view of the whole entertainment, & so fearful & timorous was he of their effects, that he was most of the time supported by two Men & now & then by his wife Whaeredee—No argument could induce him to fire any of them off, he always answerd let Whaeredee do it, which she did several times with undaunted courage & coolness to please us & her timorous husband. The rest of the Royal Family were also present & together with a numerous concourse of the Chiefs & Natives seemd to enjoy the whole entertainment with a mixture of awe & astonishment.

Old Whappai arrivd this day from Eimeo & was present at this entertainment which the natives called *Heiva no Britanee*.

8 Jan. 1792. The weather being now somewhat settled we set off early on the morning of the 8th to the Mountains accompanied by two of the Natives as guides & ascended by a ridge of hills behind the district of Matavai which I found chiefly coverd with a species of Fern (*Pteris dichotoma*) in a stunted state & a few low shrubs, but the vallys on each side presented rich pasturage & appeard capable of rearing herds of granivorous animals, or producing the various produce of different climes by cultivation.

The Soil in general was a dark brown argillaceous earth of an unctuous quality, though in many places especially on the higher grounds it was of a bright brick-colour & these seemd to have undergone the action of fire. In the valleys the exterior stratum was a kind of light black mould which would not fail to improve by a due admixture with the foregoing.

After ascending about 4 miles we enterd the skirts of the wood which renders the upper regiens of this country inaccessible by its density & here under a vertical sun we enjoyd a temperate climate & spent a good part of the day in Botanical researches. Below us appeard the plains of Matavai & Oparre, richly cropped with bread fruit Trees—Bananas & Cocoa Palms affording a delicious shade to the scatterd habitations of the Natives & backd by the naked hilly country which we had ascended. To the Northward was seen the low Island of Tetoroah, emerging as it were out of the Sea, where scattered tufts of trees appeard to join the sky to the briny element.

In the afternoon a thick fog & heavy rain which in a short time wet us to the Skin, obligd me to return sooner than I could wish, renderd our path so very slippery that we found it a much more difficult task to descend than we had in ascending, though this change of weather did not happen without my being apprizd of it by my guides, who frequently solicited me to return before it came on & who were no doubt at this time prompted by a more powerful impulse that of hunger, for we had neglected to carry any kind of refreshment with us, that we returnd with keen appetites & in coming down made for the first grove of Cocoa Nut Trees we saw to refresh ourselves, but I was not a little surprizd when they told me that every tree in it was under a particular interdiction for *Tee*, which I understood to be an evil spirit, & they shewd me that each tree had his mark, which was a small bunch of Ferns or grass suspended to its stem.

As my thirst was no ways reliev'd but rather became more urgent at the sight of these Cocoa Nuts, I used a good deal of persuasion with

them to go up one of the trees, which one of them at last did with much reluctance, while the other remaind at the foot of it employd in fervent devotion, & the first Cocoa Nut that came down, he cut off the top part of it & placed it on a bush as an offering for *Tee* & gave me the other part to quench my thirst, whilst he still continued muttering his prayer, which in a short time had the good effect of removing any squeamishness of conscience he might have entertaind against the use of this forbidden fruit, for they afterwards both ate & drank of these Cocoa Nuts pretty freely.

We continued our journey down the Hill & soon after arrivd at the house of Poeenoh the Chief of Matavai who was my particular friend & who had on this occasion provided plenty of victuals for our return, & after eating a little of this repast, finding I was very wet & fatigued, they made me strip off my cloaths & wrapped me up in a quantity of dry Otaheitean Cloth & in this situation a number of women gatherd round to *romeē* me, & continu'd their operation of pinching nipping pressing & squeezing till every part of me was so benumbd & torpid that I actually fell asleep under their hands, & when I awakend found myself very much refreshd by this rough usage, which I am confident might be employd to advantage in many lingering chronic & sedentary disorders. In the meanwhile they had taken care to dry my cloaths, so that I returnd to the ship in the evening very comfortable through the good offices of these friendly people.

9 Jan. 1792. The 9th I remaind on board in the forenoon to arrange the collection of plants I made on preceeding day, which I was sorry to find sufferd much from the heavy fall of rain. From the ship we observd a procession of the Natives going along the Beach towards the small Hut on the point where the Royal Family resided, they carried about two dozen of large packages or baskets each supported upon a long pole between two Mens shoulders, who walkd with a slow heavy pace as if under a weighty burden & we were afterwards told that the contents of these bundles were dressed provision consisting of Hogs Dogs & variety of Vegetables which we supposed were intended for the sick chief to be sent as an offering to the *Morai* in his behalf.

In the afternoon I went on shore with some of the Officers & cleard a small spot near Po-eenoh's house for a garden, where we sowd a variety of English Garden Seeds, many of which were above ground & in a thriving way before we left the Island. When Po-eenoh saw us thus employd he shewd us some Orange Trees that were planted near his house he said by Capt. Bligh of the Bounty, some of them were two feet high & in a very thriving state, so that we hope the time is not very

remote when future Navigators will find plenty of this delicious fruit on these Islands for we also left in different parts of the Plantation a number of young orange seedlings which I had reard in the frame on the quarter Deck since we left the Cape of Good Hope.

10 Jan. 1792. Next day we enjoyd a fine fresh breeze with fair pleasant weather. On Shore the Natives gave a very indifferent entertainment called a *Heiva* at which several of the Officers & people at the Tents were present but enjoyd very little pleasure from the performance.

Hearing that our friend Reepaia was indisposd I accompaniied Capt. Vancouver in the afternoon to see him, we found him surrounded by a few consoling friends in a small temporary hut situated in an airy place on the banks of the river a little way up. After enquiring into his complaint I offerd my advice which he readily accepted, & Capt. Vancouver was good enough to send for the things I orderd on Board the *Discovery*, which I was happy had the promisd effect in relieving him. While we were with him his Brother Pomarre came in the same friendly manner to enquire how he was but did not stay long as he soon after attended Motooaro-mahow along side of the Chatham when that Chief was hoisted in & slept on their quarter deck under the awning all night where Pomarre & Toono one of his wives remaind by him both performing the most tender offices for the dying chief.

11 Jan. 1792. As the Sea had on the preceeding days overflowd the banks of the river & made it brakish where we were watering near the Tents, a party of Natives was on the 11th employd in rolling the Cask a little way up the River so far as Reepaia's house under whose care they were placd & fresh filld & for this hard labor each of them had daily two small Nails & four Beads. Indeed the facility & honesty with which the natives were brought to work & drudge for us in this sultry climate was highly pleasing, for they washd all our linnen, taking on shore a parcel of it in the morning & bringing it on board again in the evening or next day exceedingly well done. But this day a circumstance happend which put us in some measure upon our guard in trusting them at least with much at a time, some linnen belonging to Mr. John Stone & about half a dozen shirts and other things belonging to Mr. Walker of the Chatham were run away with. Pomarre was made acquainted with this breach of confidence & he assurd them that the *Teete* or thief should be sent after yet they had very little hopes of recovering any of their goods.

In the course of this day old Potatow made his first appearance at the Tents a chief of some consequence & well known in Capt. Cook's different visits but he has changed his name to *Reetoa* & *Pohooetoa* a circum-

stance which took place we understood not only with him but with all the principal chiefs on the Island on young Otoo's accession to the regal dignity when he was invested with the *Mare oora* & what is very singular on this occasion a great number of words in their language were changd & new ones adopted in their stead; even words expressing the most common & familiar things sufferd this mutation, Matte, dead or killd, is now expressed by *Booke*, & so on with others; & the words which were thus laid aside are forbidden to be used by any one on the Island under the severest punishment; so that if these changes happen frequent there can be no stability in their language, but what depends upon whim & superstitious caprice, though I am rather inclind to suppose that after a limited time these obsolete words become fashionable & used indiscriminately, & this may in some measure give rise to that copiousness in their language which Mr. Anderson takes notice of in Captain Cook's last Voyage.

12 Jan. 1792. On the 12th another party of the Natives began to cut fire wood for both vessels in consequence of previous application to Pomarre, who orderd such of the Bread Fruit Trees as had been washd down the river by the late inundation to be cut up & brought to the Tents for that purpose. This business was carried on under the direction of two chiefs *Poeenoh* & *Moeree* who had axes lent to them for the service as they valued their own too much to use them.

In the forenoon I went on shore accompanied by Mr. Baker to take an excursion up the Valley from which the river issued behind *Matavai*. As we went through the Plantations we saw the women every where industriously employd in manufacturing Cloth, as the demand for it between both Vessels as an article of curiosity was now very great.

We found the Valley pretty wide at the entrance but narrower as we advanced up, being hemd in on both sides with steep Banks which became more elevated rugged & gloomy as they approachd each other higher up; the bottom of the Valley was tolerably even & upon a gradual ascent, the river winding through it from side to side, so that we had to cross it several times, but this was no hardship for we were never sufferd to wet ourselves, the Natives were always struggling who should be foremost in carrying us across on their backs.

We passed a number of the Habitations of the Natives on both sides of the River surrounded by little plantations of *Taro*, Sugar Cane, Bananas & the Cloth Plant, but the Bread Fruit Tree became less frequent the higher we advanced, so that here the Natives seemd to subsist chiefly by their industry in cultivating the ground to the best advantage. We saw a number of them as we went along amuse themselves in catching small

fish in the river with a kind of little scoop net fixd on the end of a long rod.

After going up about 3 miles we dind on a rural spot under the shade of a spreading Tree, where we had a plentiful repast provided for us by the Natives dressd & servd up very cleanly, the only thing that gave us disgust was the salt water which they set before us to dip our meat into in lieu of Salt, which had been so often usd before on similar occasions & carefully preservd in an old Bamboo that it had now the appearance of greasy pickle.

In the afternoon we returnd to the bottom of the Valley & put up for the night at Moeree's house where we expected to be joind next morning by a large party of the officers to proceed further up. Moeree himself happend to be absent at this time on board one of the Vessels in the Bay, & when he returnd in the evening & found us sitting at his fire side I never saw a man that appeard more dissatisfied with himself than he was for not being home sooner to provide for our entertainment. He immediately set the whole village in a stir, killed a large Hog & dressd it with a profusion of vegetables for our supper. He spread clean Mats & plenty of cloth for our Beds, & when we retird to rest, he took our cloths & every thing belonging to us into his own custody, taking a regular account of every article we had even a small quantity of liquor that remaind in a bottle he measurd the height of the liquor with a piece of stick which he gave us to keep that we might satisfy ourselves in the morning the same quantity was returnd. In short our Host was not only profuse in his Hospitality but scrupulously honest & careful that we might not suffer any molestation while under his protection.

13 Jan. 1792. Next morning we were joind by Lieut. Broughton & a large party of the Officers & Moeree provided a plentiful breakfast for the whole of us in a large house pleasantly situated at a little distance from his dwelling after which Mr. Broughton informd us that several of the Chiefs were going to Oparre for a few days & among others his particular friend *Whytooa*¹⁶ a younger brother of Pomerre who had strongly importund his company, he therefore proposd that we should for the present relinquish our intended route up the Valley & embrace the opportunity of going under the care & protection of his friend to see the district of Oparre, which was agreed to by all & we immediately returnd on board to prepare for the excursion.

It was a little past noon before we left the ship, the party consisting of Lt. Broughton, Puget, Baker, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Walker & Myself with Whytooa & his wife & Mowree the head chief of Ulietea¹⁷ who arrivd here two days before & in whose Canoe we all embarkd. On passing the

first point of Oparre we requested to land in order to see the Morai of *Tepootoatea*. Here we were attended by Mowree who on entring the sacred spot desird us to stop till he had addressd the Eatooa, for this purpose he seated himself on the ground & began to pray before an altar ornamented with pieces of wood indifferently carved & on which was placed on this occasion a large bundle of white Cloth & some red feathers by an elderly man. Before these Emblems he continued praying sometime, during which all our names were separately mentioned twice & the names of the Commanders of the different Vessels that visited the Island together with the name of King George & Britanee which was often repeated.

When this ceremonial solemnity was ended we were readily admitted into every part of the Morai & Mowree took great pains to explain to us every peculiarity belonging to it, for he appeard to be a man well informd in the rites of their religion, & on that account we could not help lamenting that our knowledge of the language was by no means sufficient to comprehend his meaning except in very few instances, otherwise we should have left this place much better informd, for it is at present the most considerable Morai on this part of the Island.

On returning to the Beach we found the Canoe had gone off & left us, we therefore walkd along shore about a mile further till we came to a house surrounded with young Plantations of the Ava Plant & the whole neatly fencd in with rails of Bamboo. This we were told belonged to Reepaia & on entring the house we found him at dinner with a numerous train of our acquaintance from *Matavai*. The weather being now exceeding sultry we refreshd ourselves with the cool & nourishing juice of Cocoa Nuts & rested a little while with Reepaia till a message came for us from his brother who had gone on to his own habitation, but our friend Mowree joind the party here & seemd to relish the repast with a good appetite.

We followd the Messenger & soon after came to Whytooa's house which is situated close to the shore & backd by fine plantations of the Ava plant interspersd with patches of Sugar Cane & Bananas, but next the house grew a small shrubbery of the ornamental plants of the Country, & the whole was surrounded by a fence intersected by paths & kept in such order as reflected the highest credit on its owner. Here we found our Host who had already taken effectual steps to provide for our entertainment by killing a large Hog & collecting the other necessary refreshments which were now getting ready on the outside of the Plantation. When we enterd his house which is large and airy he put us in posession of one half of it by stretching a rope across the middle to keep the

Natives from pressing too near us & prevent their idle & teasing curiosity from molesting our quiet.

After dinner we heard the report of guns which we judgd to be complimentary to Pomarre on his leaving Matavai, & Reepaia visiting us soon after with some of his party confirmd our opinion & he further observd that as Pomarre had now left the Vessels he was afraid the Natives would not be so orderly & therefore requested Mr. Broughton to write a few lines to Capt. Vancouver & recommend to him five Chiefs whose names he mentioned & in whose good offices he might place the fullest confidence in the absence of the Royal Family. This was complied with & Mathiabo one of the five was immediately dispatchd with this message on board the *Discovery*.

From the first of our acquaintance with Reepaia his friendly care seemd to be wholly engaggd in preserving a good understanding between us & his Countrymen, & even here retird in his country cottage we find him eagerly employd in these laudable endeavours which I am happy to observe had hitherto so far succeeded that very little interruption had taken place of the most friendly intercourse.

Soon after we were complimented by a visit from young Otoo, his approach was made known to us by seeing all the natives uncover their shoulders, but as he could not with propriety come within the Fence we paid our respects to him on the Beach & gave him such Trinkets as we had then about us, he did not stay long but posted on to meet his father at the Morai. He was hardly gone, when we had also a short visit from his royal Sister, who was likewise on a man's back. We ornamented her with Beads & gave her some looking glasses which seemd to please her much.

In the dusk of the evening a scene occurrd which did not fail to give a different turn to our feelings, for then we were informd that the royal family were landing close by us, we hastend out to receive them, & met Pomarre on the Beach, the dejection which evidently appeard in his countenanse induc'd me at once to enquire the cause of it, when he told me in a low tone of voice that his friend Motoaro-mahow was dead, & that he was come to Oparre to solemnize the funeral rites. Reepaia & Whytooa who likewise came both out to receive their brother, on hearing this burst into tears, & a melancholy gloom soon overspread the whole group present.

On going a little further we saw the Queen Mother¹⁸ & Whaereede both in tears close to the Canoe where they landed; At this time Whacredec was searching a small bundle for the shark's teeth the dreadful instrument used by the women in this country on such occasions for

tearing their heads in a frantic manner to express the depth of their afflictive sorrow. She found three carefully wrapped up in a piece of cloth & delivering one to her sister, they both retir'd back in silent grief into a neighbouring plantation, & we to rest on a large Mat which on our return to the house we found spread for the purpose.

14 Jan. 1792. Early on the morning of the 14th we were again favor'd with a visit from Otoo & several others on their way to the Morai. We now found that three English Geese had been landed in our plantation on the preceeding evening, which Pomerre had receivd from Captain Vancouver, so far were these animals enabled to distinguish our voices or dresses that they kept gaggling about that end of the house we were in & constantly shund the natives.

A little before breakfast time a large Canoe coverd with an awning came from the westward & movd with a slow motion towards the Morai with the body of the deceasd Chief. On observing this we expressd our wish to see Pomerre in order to obtain his leave to attend the ceremony when we were told that he was gone to the Morai & would have no objection to our being present. We therefore set out attended by Whytooa & several others, & on crossing a small river a little beyond Reepaia's house we there saw setting under a tree the Queen Mother, Whaeredee & the widow of the deceased, all in tears & in the violence of their distracted grief wounding their heads with the sad weapons we saw them prepar'd with on the preceeding evening, & to facilitate the operation the widow had a spot shavd on the crown of her head, from which the blood gushd freely, & it bore evident marks of the frequent repetitions of the instrument.

As we were afraid our presence might give them some uneasiness, we made our stay but very short, & hastend towards the Morai, where we found that the Priests had already begun to perform their exequies, but Pomerre Reepaia & others giving their silent assent to our coming forwards we movd quietly on through the group & seated ourselves among the Chiefs, with as little obstruction to the duties then going forward, as in entring a Church in England after the service had begun.

Five Priests who sat before Pomerre appear'd at this time to be chanting a kind of hymn—with their faces turnd towards the young king, who sat on a man's lap about ten yards off, & near him was held the bundle of white Cloth which emblematically contain'd the Eatooa.

The body of the deceased lay wrapped in red English Cloth under the awning of the Canoe, one end of which was hauld up upon the Beach close to the Morai & the other end was attended by one man up to his middle in the water.

These Priests continued chanting in concert for some time, frequently modulating their voices & uttering with great volubility till at last they ended with a shrill squeak. But one of them who we perceivd to be our friend Mowree & who on this occasion performd the office of High Priest continu'd in a fervent prayer for about half an hour longer, in which he was now & then joind by another with a very shrill voice. In this prayer Mowree sometimes appear'd to be expostulating with the Deity in mentioning separately the different produce of the Island that still remain'd in great plenty & yet Motooaro Mahow was suffer'd to die.

When the address was ended they all got up & walk'd along shore follow'd by the Canoe to the entrance of the River where the three ladies still remain'd giving vent to their grief, which on seeing the Canoe they did with a wild yell that pierced our very souls attended with the frantic operation of the Shark's teeth till the blood flow'd freely. The Canoe then enter'd the river to go back to a Morai at the foot of the Mountain & we understood that the ceremonies to be there performd on the body of the deceased was of such a nature & requir'd so much privacy that they would not permit any of us to be present though it was earnestly requested—As some alleviation to this disappointment Pomerre said that next day we should be admitted to see the manner in which it was laid out, but he could not allow us then to follow any further up the River, on which we parted.

As I strongly suspected that the Body of this Prince was now going to be embalmd, I could not help lamenting that these restrictions depriv'd me of the only opportunity I should ever have of seeing these Natives perform an operation from which I should probably have derived very useful instructions. I again renew'd my solicitations with Pomerre to permit me *alone* to accompany him but without success.

We then return'd to Whytooas house & agreed on going along shore about 4 miles further to see the royal residence of Pomerre, which we found pleasantly situated near the sea side, & consisted of two large houses, one of which was 16 yards long by 18 yards wide. Here a number of young girls entertain'd us with *Heiva* in the wanton manner of their country, at particular parts of this dance a fellow stept in before the Girls who had a large Hernia & exposed it in a ludicrous manner to the no small amusement of the rest of the Natives, but when we expressed our disgust at this fellow's actions, the girls then went on & performd the part by exposing themselves below the waist. After distributing some Beads among these young actresses we return'd back by a pleasant path through the plantation where we enjoy'd a cool refreshing breeze, shaded from the sultry mid-day heat by a continued forest of

Bread fruit trees & Cocoa Palms. We stopd at a Chiefs house where Whytooa had orderd dinner to be provided for us & where I must say we fared sumptuously on the produce of the country, after which we continued our journey & a little before night arrivd again at our friend's house, & observd a number of fires kindled in this part of the district & people cooking victuals as if some great feast was preparing—We however fared as usual & after supper requested our worthy host to join us in a glass of grogg to our friends in *Britanee*—to join us in the liquor he modestly refusd though he was exceeding fond of it, observing that we had but little remaining for ourselves & that he would therefore drink to *Britanee* a bowl of *Otaheitean Ava* which he immediately orderd to be prepar'd for the purpose, & Mr. Broughton's politeness & curiosity together went so far as to drink some of this bowl with his friend.

15 Jan. 1792. Before day light our old friend Mowree paid us a visit in order to acquaint us that a restriction was laid on all the Canoes in this part of Oparre on account of the funeral solemnities, in consequence of which he durst not launch his Canoe to carry us back this day to Matavai. We told him it was no hardship, as it was our intention to go back by land, & soon after on requesting Whytooa to give us an early breakfast he likewise told us that fires were under a similar restriction, on which account he could not dress any at his own house, but would endeavour to get some for us on our journey. This being the case there was no alternative, we therefore set out from Whytooa's house pretty early in the morning (impressed with a high sense of his hospitality & friendly good offices) & accompanied by himself his wife & several of the Natives. We were conducted by a pleasant level path through the Plantations, shaded by abundance of the Bread Fruit Trees, & on crossing the River where we parted with Pomarre on the preceeding day, we requested to see the Morai in which Motooaro-mahow was laid & was soon put into a path which lead to it, but few of the Natives would venture to go with us, & we had gone but a little way when a message from Whytooa called us back, having then particularly explain'd to him Pomarre's promise to us yesterday, he, after considerable hesitations orderd one man to accompany us, & gave him particular directions.

While the rest of the party went on with Whytooa, Mr. Broughton & myself followd this man who appeard exceedingly cautious & fearful every step he went. We had not gone far when a solitary gloom prevaild all the houses we passd were deserted not a living creature was to be seen excepting a few dogs till we came to the Morai, where we found three men sitting in a small house who we supposd to be priests or guardians of the sacred place. These men interrogated our guide with

great earnestness, & afterwards informd us that the body of the deceased was carried to the Morai where we had seen it yesterday, & where Pomarre was at that time attending the ceremonies that were performing. Being thus disappointed in our expectations, we took a short view of the place in which we saw nothing deserving of notice, except its wild gloomy & solitary situation, being shaded with large trees & backd by high perpendicular & cavernd rocks, giving origin to several streams of water whose murmuring noise was no doubt favorable to lull the mind into fervent devotion in performing their religious rites.

We returnd by a different path & did not travel above a Mile when we came up with the rest of the party at a place where our friend Why-tooa had taken care to provide a good breakfast for us. In our route we passed Otoo's present residence which consists of a middling sizd house with a large court before it, inclosd by Board Railings, & it would now seem that the restrictions on fires did not extend far beyond the King's house as we were so soon after passing it accommodated with our breakfast, & that the assiduity of the natives on the preceeding evening in dressing so much victuals was not for feasting but to guard against fasting.

Being thus refreshd we soon after crossd One Tree Hill & arrivd at the British Encampment by dinner time followd by a numerous group of the natives who were constantly struggling who should be foremost in doing us little acts of kindness, such as carrying us over rivulets, easing us of any superfluous cloaths in the heat of the day or any other bundle we had to carry, and though our pockets & bundles containd small trinkets valuable to them, I must do their honesty justice to say that none were missed by any of us during the whole excursion.

17 Jan. 1792. In the morning of the 17th. two of the Natives were detected in stealing a hat out of one of the scuttles on board the *Discovery* & was immediately pursued by one of our boats who soon returnd with the Thieves & their booty, & as various petty thefts were committed both on shore & on board it was thought necessary that their punishment should be public & exemplary to deter others from committing offences that might perhaps be attended with more disagreeable consequences. For this purpose they were instantly conveyd on shore to the Tents under a guard of Marines where they were tied to a tree had their heads shaved & received a good flogging on their naked backs after which they were dismissd desiring them never to be seen again near the lines or the Vessels. This happend in the presence of Otoo King of the Island several of the principal Chiefs & a numerous concourse of the

Natives who all appear highly satisfied with our lenity in not inflicting a severer punishment.

After this Capt. Vancouver accompanied by Pomerre & others went in the Pinnace to Oparre where he visited the Toopapao on which Motooaro-mahow was laid in state & made some offerings at his shrine accompanied with a discharge of Musquetry & after taking a view of the Morai & other places returnd to the ship again in the evening. We now found that the Breach which the river lately made through the Beach had entirely filld up again of itself & the Stream followd its old course towards the point.

In the forenoon I set out with one of the gentlemen to prosecute my researches further up the Valley & after passing a little beyond the reach of our former excursion, the Natives pointed out to us some shadock trees on the right hand side of the Valley in a very flourishing state, loaded at this time with plenty of fruit but none of them were ripe.— They told us that they were planted here by *Bane* (Sir Joseph Banks) & from their size & apparent age we had no reason to doubt their assertion.

We now continu'd our journey crossing the windings of the river pretty frequent & in the afternoon advanced as far as the uppermost habitations in the Valley where we found it necessary to take up our quarters for the night as we had very heavy rain in the evening. The few Natives we found here were remarkable friendly & hospitable & very assiduous in providing for our comfort & entertainment. They dressd a small Hog for us, which was killd by dimersion [sic] in the river, a method we had not before seen made use of, & at night they amusd us with singing some pleasant airs under the direction of an old blind man who accompanied them with great exactness on a flute, the stanzas often terminated with the words *gue gue* & the performance on the whole was by no means destitute of order & some degree of harmony, & the eager attention of the Natives during the whole time shewd that they relishd it with great delight, though to us it seemd more conducive to inspire a kind of mournful gloominess than cheerfulness.

18 Jan. 1792. 18th. Next morning we set off pretty early taking about a dozen of the Natives with us as guides & to carry some provisions &c & as we now advancd we found the Valley became much narrower, being hemmd in on both sides by high steep craggy mountains, whose dark woody cliffs diffused a solitary gloom all around us, & the continual murmurs of the stream reechoed from different Caverns stunn'd our ears with its loud noise that we could not hear one another without elevating our voices considerably—A number of little falls of water precipitated

from the rocks here & there on each side; but on the left hand we passed a small beautiful Cascade which fell over a perpendicular rock composd of upright Columns of black Basaltes presenting a fluted surface of upwards of thirty yards high, these Columns were arrangd parallel & of a pentagonal figure rarely exceeding fifteen inches in diameter, they consisted of joints of different lengths from one to twenty feet & upwards. Of this rock the Natives told me that they formerly made their stone Adzes.

A little beyond this the Valley became so confind that we could pursue it no further. Here the natives pointed out to us on the left hand side a high cliff from the top of which they said a path went up the Mountains, but this rock appeard to us inaccessible till we saw one of the Natives scramble up with great alertness & on gaining the summit he made a rope he had about his middle fast to a tree & threw the end of it down the rock by means of which the rest hauld themselves up one after another & we managd to mount by the same Conveyance though I must say not without risque & difficulty. When in the Morning we observd some of the Natives carefully fastening Ropes about their waists we could not guess what they were intended for till we came to this Rock & saw the use to which they were applied.

From the top of this rock we began our ascent by a very steep narrow path where we could only follow one another through thick woods & sometimes along the verge of precipices so hideous & full of danger that a slip or false step would in a moment prove of fatal consequence. At other times we crossed chasms & valleys with great labour & fatigue, in the bottom of these we frequently met with little spots planted with Taro particularly the large coarser kind & abundance of Bananas which our Conductors seemd to consider as common property, for they collected from these places as we went along the Vegetables which they intended for themselves & us in the Mountains. The wood through which we passed was every where interspersed with strong thick fern & underwood of various kinds, but the Trees which composd it did not appear to be of any great dimentions. I collected a number of plants which I had not before seen by sending the Natives here & there off the path in different directions, who brought to me branches of every plant they saw either in flower or fruit or seeds.

We thus continued our progress up the Mountains till about two in the afternoon when we had gaind the summit of an elevated ridge & on the other side saw a deep large valley across which the Natives told us the path went, & at some distance on the opposite side they shewd us two small huts on a clear spot where they said they meant to put up for

the night. We had already crossd so many of these Valleys that we were now quite disheartend & here threw ourselves down upon the ground almost exhausted with fatigue, while some of the Natives went on, to kindle a fire & prepare these huts for our reception.

But suddenly a very heavy pour of rain came on which the Natives told us was likely to continue & swell the River that we could not get back again for two or three days—We were in a short time wet to the skin & to go to these damp huts & lay all night in this condition would not only be uncomfortable but in this climate might greatly endanger our Constitutions, we therefore determind at once on returning back as fast as we could, & get down the Valley before the River had gaind strength sufficient to detain us more especially as we had strict injunctions to be back on the following day at farthest as the Vessels were upon the point of Sailing. We sent after the Natives that had gone, to recall them, & began to descend under a pouring fall of heavy rain, which renderd our path so exceeding slippery that we were every moment in the utmost danger of sliding down chasms or precipices dreadful to behold & frequently obliged to lower ourselves by ropes fastend to trees or held by the Natives.

When we came to the River we found that it had already swelld so considerably & its stream rolld on with such impetuosity that in many places it was a very difficult task to cross it, & indeed we should never have been able to accomplish it had it not been for the dexterity activity & friendly aid of the Natives for though I generally went across between two of the stoutest of them yet we were often thrown off our legs & carried down the stream for some distance before we could gain the opposite shore, & we had to cross it at least twenty times in the course of our return down the Valley, but it was some consolation to find that we in some Measure out run the overflow & lower down crossed it with more ease.

We arrivd at the Tents late in the evening extremely fatigued wet & uncomfortable but what I most regretted, my collection of Plants were almost entirely destroyd with the heavy fall of rain, our hurry down the Mountains & crossing the river so often, notwithstanding all my precautions & endeavours to preserve them.

This day the Queen Mother Whaereedee & the widow returnd from Oparre after performing their part in the funeral rites, which after what has been already related will surely not be considered as an easy task, it however left no traces of mournful gloominess on their minds, for they now appeard as cheerful & unconcernd as if nothing of the kind had ever happend.

Notwithstanding the punishment that had been inflicted yesterday morning several petty thefts were still committing about the Tents amongst the officers linnen & mens cloaths that were washing there, but no particular notice was taken of them. Indeed such was the rage for these articles as trade, that our own people were in some measure suspected as accessories in these petty offences, & to strengthen the bonds of good understanding & friendship between us & the Royal Family, the artificers were at this time employd in making a very large Chest for Pomarre.

20 Jan. 1792. In the morning of the 20th a bag of linnen belonging to Mr. Broughton was missing it containd about a dozen shirts some sheets & table Cloths that had been brought on shore on the preceeding evening & laid in the Marquee as the securest place, so that this theft was imputed to some of those confidentials who were permitted to live night & day within the line & who were mostly chiefs of low rank that had been adopted as temporary friends by some of the officers or men who attended upon them as menial servants—These certainly were hourly exposed to great temptations by the negligence with which every thing lay about the Tents especially shirts & linnen of every kind that were daily brought on shore to wash & dry, & indeed these were the articles which they were at this time fondest of from the highest to the lowest, so that it was not at all surprising that their honesty was not able to resist those aluring opportunities which we ourselves put in their way.

On this occasion Captain Vancouver issued his threats to Pomarre & the rest of the Chiefs, telling them, that if these articles were not brought back very soon he would desolate the whole district & destroy all their Canoes.

In the forenoon Reepaia made a liberal present of Hogs Goats &c to both Commanders & was desirous of backing his present with an entertainment, for which two young ladies elegantly dressd were brought close to the lines to dance a Heiva, but this Capt. Vancouver did not think proper to countenance on account of the several thefts committed by the Natives, & he strictly enjoind that none belonging to either of the Vessels should attend it, so that the ladies returnd home without performing even to their own countrymen, & Reepaia went off apparently much hurt at this rebuff, for a little afterwards I strolled back into the Plantation & saw him with his musquet in great agitation & bustle through the village searching for the Thieves.

The Observatory was struck & the Astronomical instruments & Time-keepers were sent on board. There being little or no surf the boats were now able to land with great ease abreast of the Tents.

The Centinels posted round the encampment this day receivd orders to fire on any of the Natives that might be found stealing or lurking within the lines after the watch was set, in consequence of which two of them were this night fired at but they effected their escape unhurt.

21 Jan. 1792. In the forenoon of the 21st Pomarre & his two brothers with several of the Chiefs were at the Tents about the robberies, when they were again threatend with war & destruction, but to no purpose, for they declar'd that they had already exerted their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders & recover the articles, but that the thieves were gone with their booty to the mountains, where they could easily elude the most diligent search for a considerable time. To assuage in some measure these threats & endeavour to bring about again a good understanding Pomarre & Whytooa made presents of the produce of the Island to both Commanders.

In the evening Whytooa meeting with a man that attended on the Officers who had absconded himself in the course of the day I believe merely through fear of the thundering threats that were issued, brought him to the Tents to declare whatever he knew concerning the robberies & the harsh manner in which this man was threatend with instant death gave a general alarm to the Natives, they were seen deserting their houses & getting all their effects & canoes out of the reach of our guns. Pomarre & all the Chiefs instantly crossd the river & absconded themselves, not one remaind near us except the old Queen & a single attendant, & she appear'd stupified with liquor, having taken a glass too much, which was not unusual with this Royal Dame when she could get it.

In this situation Mr. Broughton went singly & unarm'd across the river (though Capt. Vancouver had entreated him to the contrary) to endeavour to reconcile the Natives & bring them back to a state of confidence which he very soon effected by overtaking Pomarre & soliciting him to return again to the Tents, that chief said, what can I expect, when my Queen is kept a Prisoner, he assurd him she was not, & to convince him there was no harm intended against any of them, he desird him to come to the river side & that she should be sent over to him, which she immediately was according to Mr. Broughton's promise & a numerous group of the Natives eagerly receivd her on the opposite side.

On this occasion Pomarre shewd great magnanimity, for the whole multitude zealously pressd him not to venture across & clingd around him endeavouring to hold him back, yet the moment he saw the Queen set at liberty he thrust them all aside & steppd into the river with an undaunted air of confidence followd by Whaeredee alone, & the Queen joining them soon after he slepd with both in the Marquee all night.

During this fray Captain Vancouver sent to seize some double Canoes laying at the entrance of the River, but the party was prevented from getting more than one by the Natives pelting them with Stones, & one or two Musquets they had would not go off, which made the others bolder in defending their property.

In the mean time the man which Whytooa had brought & who had given rise to this sudden alarm was sent on board & securd in irons till his guilt should appear more evident, or he should criminate others by telling whatever he knew of the robberies.

In the night time Tooworero the Sandwich Islander made his escape by swimming on shore unobservd. This step was not altogether unexpected as he had given some hints a few days before of his partiality to these people & their country by expressing his wishes to remain amongst them, for their insinuating arts & manners had gaint such an ascendancy over his unthinking mind, that they had already wheedled from him almost the whole stock of Cloaths which Government had so liberally supplied him with on his leaving England.

22 Jan. 1792. When this affair was made known to Capt. Vancouver next morning, he immediately requested Pomerre to send after him & bring him back to the ship again wherever he was, & that Chief instantly set off in search of him. In the mean time the Guns were dismounted & sent off in the Tents & in the afternoon the Marquee was struck with which the whole party venturd off with Capt. Vancouver which made up put more confidence in Pomerre's success after Tooworero who we were told in the evening was securd at Oparre & would be brought to the ship very soon.

23 Jan. 1729. In the morning of the 23d, it raind very hard but it brought no surf or swell into the Bay like the former wet weather. At day light the Chatham parted her stream Cable which had been evidently cut by the rock. Though we were now ready to depart yet we could have wishd to see Pomerre & his Brother who were both at Oparre in quest of Tooworero. About Breakfast time the three Royal Dames came on board & told Capt. Vancouver that if a Boat was sent for them they would both come on Board with Tooworero, & that he might not doubt their assertion they immediately offerd to remain on board the Ship as Hostages till the Boat returnd jocosely adding that if Pomerre would not come for them they would go to Britanee & get other husbands.

As the weather was not very favorable for our departure Mr. Broughton & I went in the Pinnace to Oparre & landed, a little after we passed One Tree Hill where we found Pomerre waiting for us on the Beach & Tooworaro close by him surrounded by a group of the Natives who

appeard much concernd at parting with him. On walking a little further we found Reepaia in a house taking some refreshment.

Mr. Broughton orderd Tooworero into the Boat who was at this time dressd in a Maro in the manner of Otaheite & we afterwards prevaild on Pomarre & his Brother to accompany us back to the ship & no sooner set off than we were followd by a vast number of Canoes loaded with Hogs & Vegetables which were intended as presents from Pomarre to both Vessels. He drew them up into two regular divisions one upon each quarter of the Boat & in this manner we enterd the Bay & approachd the Vessels till by a signal given they separated off, one division to each vessel.

We arrivd on board about two in the afternoon when Tooworero was immediately confind to prevent his making his escape again. We have already mentiond that he was so imprudent as to part with all his wearing apparel but what he himself most regretted was the loss of an excellnt rifled barreld musquet which had been given him by Col. Golden at the Cape of Good Hope & on which he placd so high a value that he would not trust it on shore with any of the Natives as he did his cloaths, but carried it out of the ship himself & lost it in the Surf as he was swimming to the shore.

If we seriously considerd the inducements which led him to this step, his conduct will no doubt appear less blameable, for he frequently expressd his doubts whether any of his friends & relations would be alive at Morotai on his return, & being born of obscure rank he was equally apprehensive that his reception in his own country would not be so flattering as here. It is not therefore surprizing if under these circumstances he preferd an easy happy life in a climate so congenial to his own, where he found himself caressd by people of rank from the Royal Family downwards, enticing him with every allurement to remain amongst them; & the facility of gratifying every wish had endeard their habits & manners to him, for being a child of nature the Sex had in some measure captivated his heart with their unaffected charms & given him a relish for sensual pleasures that he had not before experienced. In short in a country where nature dealt her bounties with such a lavishing hand, & among a mild happy people he no doubt anticipated the remainder of his days in a continual round of various enjoyments.

For he himself averrd that both Pomarre & Reepaia strongly importund him to stay behind & that the latter assisted him in landing & afterwards conducted him secretly to the Mountains, though both of them declarld they had no knowledge of his escape & made a great merit of bringing him back. Yet we had no doubt of its being a premeditated

plan between them & therefore could not help thinking that the punishment Tooworero sufferd for his imprudence, for in him it could scarcely be called any more, was far too severe, for he was kept in confinement till we past the Island of Teeteroah & the Captain in a manner discarding him, he was thrown out of the Gunners Mess where he had livd since we left England, so that he was obligd to make it out the best way he could among the common people all the passage to the Sandwich Island, with scarcely any clothing except what the generous pity of his Shipmates supplied him with.

As we are now ready to leave these Islands, it will perhaps be necessary to add a few words on their present state & the changes which have taken place in their Government since Capt. Cooks last visit.

Pomarre who was then namd Otoo & King of Otaheite as has been already noticed still retains the power of administering the Government of the Island, though consonant to the establishd custom of the Country he has resignd the titles & honors of a Sovereign to his Son Otoo who is now considerd as the King of Otaheite & indeed a much greater prince than his father ever was.

*Waheiadooda*¹⁹ the King of Tiaraboo is dead & Pomarre's second son had assymd his name & titles & taken possession of his territories a short time before our arrival.

The powerful Maheine King of Eimeo was killd in a battle about 18 months ago in Otaheite and was succeeded by his Brother Motooaro mahow²⁰ whose death we have already mentioned & the Sovereignty of that Island is now left to his daughter Tetooanooe who is very young & under age.

The great Opoono King of Bolabola is also dead & succeeded by his daughter *Mahemarooa* who is at present Sovereign of that Island & also under age.

We have already mentioned Motooaro the present king of Heraheine & our friend Old Mowree the King of Ulietea, the latter is an uncle of Pomarre's by the mother's side & has no issue, so that his Territory is likely to fall soon by descent under the Government of the Otaheitean Family whose present expansive & political views will no doubt also join two other Islands by the Marriage of the Otaheitean King with the two Queens of Bolabola & Eimeo, so that this young prince is likely in a short time to have the entire controal of the whole group of Islands, & indeed his father & the rest of the Chiefs frequently told us that his titles are greater than any King that ever reignd in Otaheite—He is stiled the *Earee rahie no maro oora* a title to which they seem to annex the same idea of greatness as we do to that of an Emporor's by this it should seem

that his elevation to the Government of the whole group of Islands is already considerd as inevitable.

Pomarre is at present about 6 feet 5 inches high, very muscular & well proportiond, he walks firm & erect with that majestic dignity of deportment becoming his high rank & station. Those on board who have seen him formerly say that he is much improvd in every respect not only in his personal appearance but in the firmness & steadiness of his actions & general behaviour.

The Queen Mother as we calld her was a stout woman of an erect masculine figure with very ordinary features, but she walkd with a firm easy step & her disposition was mild & affable. She also appeard to possess great sagacity & penetration aided by a quick & clear comprehension of whatever was laid before her, so that she was not only usefull to Pomarre in his domestic concerns, but even in the management of the more important affairs of Government, for her council had great weight with him on all occasions, & he seldom transacted any business of moment without first obtaining it, by which she always seemd to have great ascendancy & influence over his conduct.

While her sister Whaeredee who though inclind to corpulency possessed more feminine softness & the characteristic allurements of her sex attracted more of his company in those hours of relaxation devoted to pleasure & mutual enjoyment.

24 Jan. 1792. Though the preceeding night was rainy yet the morning of the 24th of Jan.^y was fair with a light easterly breeze, when we Unmoord & by 10 in the forenoon both Vessels weighd Anchor & made sail out of the Bay. At this time the Native who had been confind about three days ago on account of the Robbery was brought on Deck & deliverd to Pomarre which seemd highly gratifying to him & the royal dames one of whom immediately hurried him into a Canoe that was along side & hid him in the bottom of it by placing herself over him & covering him with her cloaths, when she orderd the people to paddle off as fast as they could towards the shore, & having got him a good distance off she returnd in another Canoe to the ship again. Though we were not able to recover but very few of the articles which the Natives pilferd from us yet all animosity now ceasd & we parted upon the most friendly terms. Pomarre was the last man on board & as he stepd into his Canoe he was saluted with four Guns & a similar compliment was paid to his two brothers who were at the same time on board the Chatham taking leave of Mr. Broughton & the Officers.

At noon we got off about two leagues when we steerd to the Northward with a light breeze & clear weather & in the evening reachd

within two leagues of the Island of Teeteroah²¹ bearing about North of us when the wind died away to light airs with lightning & some rain during the night.

25 Jan. 1792. This forenoon of the 25th was fair but mostly calm so that our progress was hardly perceptible & being within 4 or 5 miles of Teeteroah it gave an opportunity to some Canoes to come off to us, in one of which was a Chief & his family who came on board & who was not unacquainted with many of our recent transactions, which shews that a regular communication is kept up between the two Islands.

In the afternoon finding that we were drifting nearer the Island by a Current, the Boats were hoisted out to tow the Ship off, but in the evening a light breeze sprang up, when the Boats were hoisted in again & we were enabled to pursue our northerly course.

The Chatham who was during this time much nearer the land was surrounded by several Canoes from which they procura Fowls & Cocoa Nuts being probably the only refreshments which the Island afforded, for it produces neither Bread Fruit nor Taro, both of which they are supplied at times with from Otaheite.

The Chatham was also visited by the head Chief of the Island who is a younger brother of Pomerre & it being a Colony of Otaheite the Inhabitants esteemd the same articles of traffic.

The greatest extent of the Island from North to South did not exceed three Miles & it is so remarkably low that the Cocoa Nut Palms with which it is coverd seem as if they were emerging from the Ocean. At one time we were surrounded by a vast shoul of Porpusses basking & swimming about at their ease.

NOTES

1. That is to say, $35^{\circ} 57' \text{ West}$.
2. The Hawaiian lad who had been taken to England in 1789, and who was being returned to his native land in the *Discovery* at the request of Sir Joseph Banks.
3. The island is now known as Rapa.
4. The Anou Islands, lying southeast of Tahiti, in the Austral group. They were originally named after the Duke of Gloucester by Captain Philip Carteret in H.M.S. *Swallow* in 1767. They consist of three atolls—Anuanurao, Anuanurunga, and Nukutipipi.
5. Me'etia. The island was originally named the Bishop of Osnaburg Isle by Captain Samuel Wallis in H.M.S. *Dolphin* on 17 June 1767, in honor of King George III's second son. The name was also given to Muraroa one month later by Captain Carteret, in ignorance of Wallis' choice.

6. Mo'orea.

7. This is Tu the younger, son of Tu (Pomare I) and 'Itia, and later known as Pomare II. He would have been about eleven or twelve years old when Menzies met him. Later in the journal Menzies puts him at "about ten years of age."

8. That is, Tu the elder, or Pomare I. In fact Menzies' "Prince" (Tu the younger) had at birth inherited his father's title—as Menzies correctly points out later in the journal.

9. That is, 'Itia, first and principal wife of Pomare I and mother of Tu the younger.

10. "Rumi," a form of massage widely practiced in Polynesia to induce relaxation and as a form of medical treatment. It was greatly appreciated by European visitors. Later in the text Menzies describes his own experience of *rumi* and its effects on him.

11. Younger sister of 'Itia. Vancouver calls her "Fier re te," but Menzies prefers Bligh's orthography.

12. Mai ("Omai"), the first Society Islander to visit England. Captain Furneaux, commander of the ship *Adventure* on Cook's second expedition, had taken Mai to England in 1774, where he stayed for two years. In London he was presented to the king and queen and became an object of curiosity to the intellectual world as a living example of the noble savage; he was also the subject of poems, plays, exotic spectacles, pantomimes, lampoons, and portraits, including one by the distinguished artist Sir Joshua Reynolds. Mai was returned on Cook's third expedition, and Cook saw personally to his installation on Huahine in 1777. Seen as a sort of ambassador, Mai was given tools, livestock, and other gifts in order to impress his compatriots with the advantages of friendship with Britain.

13. Ari'iipaea, probably thirty-three or thirty-four years of age, about seven years younger than Pomare I.

14. Captain Charles Clerke, commander of the *Discovery* on Cook's third expedition of 1776–1780. After Cook's death at Hawaii, Clerke took over the command of the *Resolution* but he himself died of tuberculosis before the end of the voyage.

15. This "name" is really a title, *Vehiatua*, of the chieftainship of Taiarapu. After the death of the former Vehiatua not long before, the Pomare family laid claim to the district, appointing a young brother of Pomare as successor, as here related.

16. Vaetua, younger than Ari'iipaea, and probably about twenty-eight years old at this time.

17. Raiatea.

18. 'Itia, formerly referred to as "the Queen." As Menzies has promoted the younger Tu from "prince" to "king" in the course of his narrative, the "Queen" has now become the "Queen Mother."

19. Vehiatua, a title, as explained in note 15.

20. According to Vancouver, "Motooaro" (Metuaro Mahau) was not Mahine's brother but his sister's son, and most scholars agree with him. There is a possibility that Mahine was first succeeded by an older brother to Metuaro, who died shortly afterwards and whom Metuaro then succeeded. This might account for Menzies' confusion. See Douglas Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society* (Honolulu, 1974), vol. 3, p. 1206.

21. Tetiaroa.

EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY IN A MICRONESIAN VILLAGE

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Social scientists interested in the description and analysis of economic change in rural villages of the Third World frequently distinguish between two types of influences on their study areas. Endogenous (internal) factors include the local-level environmental, economic, social, political, and cultural conditions that already are "in place" in the area under investigation. Exogenous (external) influences originate from the political or economic system of the whole world or of a foreign nation, and therefore affect the local economy "from the outside." Presumably the pace, form, and direction of change in local economies is determined largely by the interaction between these analytically separable sets of forces. In the short term, village people are unable to control either of these influences, and therefore they must adapt or adjust their economic strategies both to local conditions and to external inputs.

In the Pacific, one particular kind of social scientist, namely the economic anthropologist, has tended to specialize in field studies at the village level. Most of these studies emphasize that "what comes into" the Pacific from a more developed nation combines with "what's already there" in specific villages to influence the choices that village people make about how best to use the resources at their disposal (Belshaw 1964; Epstein 1968; Finney 1973; Salisbury 1970). The preference of many anthropologists for the intensively conducted, small-scale study of a single case lends itself especially well to the analysis of the interaction

between exogenous and endogenous factors. In this paper, I present some of the results of another such case study, conducted in 1975-1976 in a village on Kosrae island, Micronesia. My aims are twofold. First, I wish to show how the household economies of villagers are affected by the interaction between an exogenous input (the opportunity to obtain wage employment) and specific endogenous factors (the conditions of the local agricultural economy). Second, I suggest that these findings have practical relevance for those Micronesians and policy-makers genuinely concerned to reduce the dependence of the islands on American funding.

Wage Labor and the Agricultural Economy of a Kosraen Village

The volcanic island of Kosrae (formerly Kusaie) is the easternmost of the Caroline Islands in the tropical Western Pacific. The resident population of almost five thousand lives largely along the coast in four major villages, in one of which I conducted economic anthropological field-work in 1975-1976. At the time of this research, Kosrae was a part of the Ponape district of the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (commonly known as Micronesia). In 1977, Kosrae separated from Ponape to form its own district; when the trusteeship agreement signed by the United States in 1947 is finally terminated, its people will form one of the states of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Like other Micronesian islands, since the mid-1960s Kosrae has experienced far-reaching economic and political changes. Prior to 1963, the American administration made little effort to develop Micronesia economically or to move its people toward a more independent political status. In the early 1960s a critical report issued by a United Nations Visiting Mission galvanized the American government into pursuing a more active policy. Whether this major policy shift was well intentioned or part of an American ploy to ensure permanent Micronesian political affiliation with the United States is the subject of some debate.¹ In any case, in 1963 funds appropriated by the U.S. Congress to be spent on Micronesia more than doubled, to \$15 million. These monies continued to increase to \$48 million in 1970 and to \$90 million in 1977.

In the Trust Territory (T.T.) budget of the 1960s and 1970s, most of these funds were spent on the improvement of social services (primarily education and health), on administration, on economic and political development, and on capital improvement projects such as electric systems, water supply lines, school buildings, roads, airports, and port facilities. At the level of islands and villages, the budget increase has

had both direct and indirect effects. Directly, the material living standards of most Micronesians have improved as islanders have found employment in the various departments of the expanded government bureaucracy. Between 1963 and 1976 the number of Micronesian employees of the T.T. government increased fourfold, and the amounts paid as wages to these workers rose elevenfold. Those individuals, and their families, able to acquire government jobs have enjoyed a marked rise in cash income, almost all of which is spent on goods imported from abroad. In 1977 the dollar value of imported goods was eight times their value in 1963. Food imports also increased greatly over the same period, from \$2 million to \$13 million. This sixfold growth is especially disturbing because many of the larger islands have the ecological capacity to produce more food than they actually do.

Indirectly, the growth of the budget has resulted in the provision of more opportunities for Micronesian businesses. Increased incomes mean increased potential demand, which has been met by an expansion of the private sector. Most Micronesian businesses owe their viability to their capacity to transform the income earned by government workers into profits for themselves and wages for their employees (Peoples 1978). As a result of this indirect effect, many Micronesians and their families who, by choice or lack of skills or contacts, have not themselves obtained government jobs also have experienced a rise in income and in material levels of consumption.

Kosrae has shared this experience. In the village where I worked, two-fifths (98 out of approximately 240) of the adult men between the ages of twenty and sixty-five had fulltime jobs with the local branch of the T.T. government in 1975. They worked mainly in education, health, public works, public safety, land survey and registration, administration, and agricultural development. Together with the nine fulltime women employees and assorted other job holders with other U.S. government agencies, these individuals earned almost \$400,000 in wages and salaries. Altogether, about 62 percent of the total cash income of the village was earned through public sector jobs.

Besides the obvious increase in employment and income, the expansion of the T.T. budget has had other effects on the island's economy. The income earned from wage work has led to a growth in demand for goods and services, which has stimulated private business activity. As elsewhere, these enterprises have tended to concentrate in the service sector, especially in retail stores, wholesale and retail bakeries, and entertainment. Most new businesses engage in activities that convert the wages of government workers into imported foods, building materials

for new houses, motor vehicles, household goods, and recreation and other services (see Peoples 1978, 1985 for documentation and explanation). Like fiscal policy in the American economy, government spending pumps up demand and thus generates new investment and employment opportunities.

The introduction of the opportunity to earn additional income through employment in the T.T. administration is the most important exogenous input into the island's economy. In addition to the macroeconomic effects of this input summarized above, wage work has important consequences for the household economies of job holders. The remainder of my discussion is devoted to a description and analysis of these consequences. To keep the presentation manageable, I confine it to the effects of wage labor on the provision of foodstuffs for the everyday consumption of households. To explain these impacts, certain ecological and organizational facts about the island's agricultural economy must be understood.

Division of labor. Although not the case in all other Micronesian islands, in Kosrae only men and adolescent boys normally handle the cultivation of subsistence crops. This applies to all subsistence crops and to all agricultural tasks carried out in the gardens, such as clearing, slashing undergrowth, and harvesting. This is not to say that women do not participate in economic activities outside the household. They are primarily responsible for removing coconut meat from its shell in copra production, they engage in many kinds of reef fishing, and they often help in pig-raising. But their role in providing cultivated foods for everyday household consumption is confined to its preparation after it has been harvested by men and boys. This division of labor is culturally explicit and only rarely violated, so that it may be considered a norm.²

Labor requirements. The most important cultivated crops used for food are bananas, plantains, breadfruit, and taro. Of these, the first three provide most of that portion of the food supply that is grown locally. They usually are grown together on steep slopes with good drainage, making it possible to harvest all three with a single trip to a hillside garden. Breadfruit of some variety is available for about eight months of the year, when it is the major staple for most households. In its off-season, more bananas, plantains, and imported rice are consumed. Breadfruit, bananas, and plantains are perennials, so that once planted they will produce for decades with minimal slashing of undergrowth. To harvest bananas and plantains, a man or boy simply locates plants with sufficiently mature fruit, cuts the producing stalk with a machete, and ties the stalk to either end of a carrying pole. He repeats

the procedure until he has harvested several stalks, and carries the produce to his house, canoe, or, nowadays, truck or motorcycle. With breadfruit, a small twig is attached to a long pole to form a hook, which is used to twist mature fruit from the tree. The fallen breadfruit is tied to a carrying pole, after which the procedure is identical to that for bananas and plantains. A typical household with an employed male member usually acquires most of its local foods by a trip to the household's gardens on Saturday by the employed man, plus one or two adolescent boys if they are available. This trip consumes between three and six hours for each male, depending on how difficult the harvest-ready fruit is to find, the location of the gardens, and the industry of the gardeners. During the breadfruit seasons, another trip may be made in midweek, for the fruit will spoil about three days after it is harvested.

Due to their ecological characteristics, the three crops of primary importance thus require very little labor to plant, maintain, and harvest. As a result, in 1975 the males of the village spent only about 8 percent of their time in all types of work in their gardens. Even unemployed men, whose households rely more on their own gardens for the everyday food supply, expended only about 10 percent of their time in garden work (Peoples 1985). In the days before wage labor was common, more of men's time was devoted to agriculture, for informants claimed that taro, yams, and tapioca, which are more labor-intensive, formerly were more important. I suspect, but cannot document, that yams and tapioca have declined in the diet due to a desire to save labor.

Land availability. In 1975-1976, to my knowledge, all households in the village had access to land on which subsistence gardens and coconut plantations for the copra trade could be established. This includes the households of government workers. Although I cannot document the statement quantitatively, I am confident that a lack or even shortage of garden land is not presently an important motive for seeking wage work. Indeed, my impression is that nearly all households have access to sufficient land to feed their members; wage-earning households could be self-sufficient in food even without the purchase of imports. This condition exists because of two facts: first, Kosrae was drastically depopulated in the nineteenth century and only recently has regained its former numbers (Ritter 1978); second, under Kosraen land-tenure ideals, all sons should inherit from their fathers some land of various types suitable for the cultivation of crops with different soil and drainage requirements, although circumstances often make this impossible. Of course, this is not to say that land ownership is equitably distributed among families. Differential fertility and survivorship among various

family lines alone tends to prevent an egalitarian distribution.³ It is to say that wage earners continue their access to the means of subsistence production. This fortunate situation will change as the island's population increases and further fragmentation of parcels occurs. Already some villagers complained of a shortage of land of certain types, particularly of that suitable for taro.⁴

Organization of subsistence production. On an everyday basis the household itself, or rather its head, organizes the acquisition of locally produced foods for its members. Elderly couples are the major exception to this generalization, for they are often partially or wholly dependent on the labor of one or more of their adult offspring who live in a different, but usually nearby, house. This organizing principle also is complicated by the existence of several multifamily living units whose constituent nuclear families are linked by ties of siblingship or descent. Sometimes such extended households will pool the produce harvested by one of their constituent families, and sometimes each family will manage its own gardens independently of the rest. Finally, Kosraen extended kin ties remain sufficiently strong that households with a serious shortage of labor of one sex may receive help of the appropriate kind from an individual of a related household. Despite these complications, obtaining subsistence foods using the land and labor available to the households itself remains statistically the most common pattern.

These four conditions of the village's agricultural economy are critical influences on how the households of wage earners have responded to employment with the government. As a result, there is no sharp contrast in subsistence activities between households with versus without job-holding men. When a man gets a job, he and other male members of his household usually continue to participate in subsistence production, albeit on a reduced scale (as documented below). This continuity is possible because even employed households have access to land and because the major crops do not require large amounts of labor. The employee himself usually continues to garden on Saturdays and sometimes after work if the gardens are favorably located. In addition, in many households teenaged boys take up part of the labor slack, in spite of the fact that today most of them are in school six hours on weekdays. Job-holding households thus are able to apply a portion of their male labor time to the land that they have available. They do not abandon subsistence activity, but continue it alongside wage work. In technical jargon, they have not yet become a fully proletarianized labor force.

However, compared to their jobless counterparts, wage-earning households have reduced their level of participation in subsistence activ-

ity and consequently rely more on store-bought (almost entirely imported) foods. This is hardly surprising, but the reason for this difference is not as straightforward as it might seem. In the next section, I document the finding that households with employed male members produce less of their own food and show why I believe the most obvious reason for their reduced participation in autosubsistence activities is insufficient.

Employment and Household Economic Allocations

To acquire their total supply of food, all households have access to labor, money, and (under 1975 conditions) land. Food may be acquired by some combination of these three resources. The household's male labor force may be applied directly to family land to produce subsistence; the cash earned by an employee may be expended to purchase food at a local store; or, as is actually the case for all households, some combination of household labor and cash are expended. Variation between job and jobless households in the availability of one or more of these resources is an important determinant of any differences in food-acquiring strategies that exist. I now compare quantitatively how households without any employed members ("jobless households") and households with one or more wage earners ("job households") use their labor, land, and money to acquire daily subsistence.⁵

Labor time. To determine how the allocation of time is affected by employment, I conducted a time budget survey. (The methodology used is described in Peoples 1985, Appendix A.) Table 1 shows the percentage of time spent in various activities by adult males. For cultural reasons, Sunday is devoted exclusively to "rest" and/or worship for all individuals, and therefore activities on this day were not included in the survey (obviously, this makes the categories "church" and "leisure" appear smaller in the time budgets than they actually are). Because only men and boys normally work in subsistence agriculture, I have not presented the results of the survey for females.

Several relevant differences in the time allocations of job and jobless adult men are revealed in Table 1. First, job men spent only 10 percent of their time in garden work and fishing for subsistence purposes, whereas jobless men devoted 21 percent of their time to the same two activities. Including carpentry work and copra production, the only other activities that produce local resources for use or sale, the contrast in time devoted to producing goods is even more pronounced (14 percent versus 54 percent). Second, over three-fourths of the potential working time of wage earners was spent on the job. Third, jobless men

TABLE 1. Allocation of Time by Adult Men^a (percent)

Activity	Men with Jobs ^b	Men without Jobs ^c
Job ^d	77	6
Gardening	5	10
Fishing	5	11
Carpentry ^e	4	16
Copra ^f	0	17
Church ^g	0	1
“Helping” ^h	0	5
Leisure ⁱ	6	20
Miscellaneous ^j	3	14

^aThe survey included seventeen randomly selected households. Each household was studied for one week. Forty-three women and girls and forty-four men and boys participated. Further details appear in Peoples (1985).

^bN=13

^cN=12

^dThe 6 percent figure for jobless men reflects the fact that three normally unemployed men worked part-time during the survey, as a stevedore, road repairman, and day laborer for a storeowner. Such short-term wage labor is frequently available to jobless men, especially young men.

^eIncludes hauling sand, mixing and pouring cement, and other work connected to house-building.

^fCollecting and husking coconuts for the sale of copra. Women ordinarily handle the cutting of the meat from the shell and drying.

^gIncludes maintenance of building and grounds, preparation of studies, and so forth. This figure would be much higher for both categories of men if Sunday were included in the survey.

^hKosraen *kuhlacnsap*, meaning in this context aiding one's relatives and neighbors in small ways, such as visiting the sick, giving rides, and helping in household tasks.

ⁱTime spent “resting” (*mongle*) and time devoted to various recreation and entertainment, such as billiards, movies, and card games.

^jRefers to various minor tasks, such as cutting firewood, making the earth oven, and repairs of house and vehicles.

had over three times more leisure than men with jobs. The significance of the last two points will become apparent below.

However, these data do not necessarily give an accurate portrayal of the contrast in time allocation between job and jobless *households*. As mentioned, in Kosrae much garden labor is assigned by the head of the household to younger male relatives, particularly to adolescent sons. To use the comparative time budget data on adult men only might be misleading, for the labor of unemployed young males potentially could meliorate the differences between job and jobless households. However, including the labor of these boys in fact gives the same result: 9 percent

TABLE 2. Comparison of Agricultural Production^a

	Job Households ^b		Jobless Households ^c	
	per worker	per consumer	per worker	per consumer
Hours ^d	17	6	31	9
Harvest ^e	201	75	323	109

^aFor a four-week period, 1975.

^bN=9

^cN=6

^dRefers to number of hours spent in agricultural labor for subsistence purposes per worker and per consumer. Both workers and consumers are weighted by age; consumers are weighted by sex as well (Peoples 1985: Appendix B).

^eRefers to the total pounds of produce harvested during the four-week period.

of the total male "labor pool" of job households is devoted to gardens and fishing, versus 19 percent for jobless households.⁶

Land. Due to my limited time in the field, I cannot quantify differences in acreages under cultivation between job and jobless households. However, given one assumption, an indirect measure of the degree of land use is available. During the breadfruit season, I conducted a production-consumption survey for four weeks. These data, aggregated in Table 2, reveal the inter-household variability in labor hours devoted to subsistence and in pounds of produce harvested. (Methodology and a detailed breakdown are given in Peoples 1985, Appendix B.) In nine sample job households, fewer hours were devoted to agriculture and smaller quantities of produce harvested than in the six jobless households. I am fairly certain—but due to the incompleteness of the work of the Land Commission (see note 4) at the time of my research cannot document—that there are no consistent differences between the two sets of households in the amounts of land available. If this impression is correct, then jobless households utilize the land available to them more fully than job households.

Money. For present purposes, the discussion of monetary allocations is confined to expenditures on food. (Additional data appear in Peoples 1978, 1985.) Two surveys in the village yield quantitative data on food purchases. In a two-week survey in October 1975 five households with jobs spent a mean of \$61 on foods, whereas four jobless households spent a mean of \$32. In a month-long survey in November and December conducted among ten households, those with jobs expended a mean of \$124 on food, as opposed to \$56 by jobless households. Almost all food purchases were of imported goods, with rice and tinned meats and fish

quantitatively the most important in everyday consumption. These data indicate that those households with employed male members spent approximately twice as much money on food as their jobless counterparts.

In sum, the following differences between the two household categories emerges. Jobless adult men and other male members of their households devote about twice the amount of time to gardening and fishing, activities that satisfy everyday subsistence wants through applying the household's male labor pool to local land and sea resources. It may be inferred tentatively that jobless households utilize their land more fully, because they spend a greater number of hours in agriculture and produce more. Finally, jobless households spend only about half the amount of money on purchases of food from local stores. In fact, these data may be aggregated into a single conclusion: job households allocate more money to purchase imported foods for daily consumption, rather than allocating the labor of their male members to produce indigenous foods on their own land.

As mentioned, this conclusion is intuitive. The quantitative magnitude of the effect of employment on the subsistence activities of job households may be of interest, as such data are heretofore unreported for any Micronesian island. A variety of factors might account for this difference. Two of the obvious influences are food preferences and the relative availability of time.

The most obvious reason that job households rely more on store-bought foods is that Kosraens simply prefer imported to local foodstuffs. If so, the explanation is straightforward: all households would rather eat imports such as rice and tinned meats and fish, but only those with wage-earning members have the income needed to consume these foods. Employment allows greater consumption of durable imports such as construction materials for finer houses, motor vehicles, household goods, and other goods that could not be produced economically on the island itself. Besides this consumption, it also saves wage-earning men and other males in their households from some of the drudgery of subsistence labor and allows their families to realize their preference for imported foods. This "taste" for imported foods accounts for why almost one-third of the cash income of the village was spent on store-bought foods in 1975, while many gardens were in various stages of abandonment. Wage labor made possible by the American subsidy then is a total windfall to job households, because it allows them to consume the foods (and other imported goods) that they would have liked to consume all along had they the income to do so. As for jobless households,

TABLE 3. Preferences for Fifteen Most Common Staple Foods^a

Ranking ^b	Food ^c	Criteria for Ranking ^d
Highly preferred	yams	most rank in top 4,
	breadfruit	several rank 5-10,
	<i>Colocasia</i> taro	few or none rank 11-15
Preferred	RICE	many rank in top 4,
	tapioca	most rank 5-10,
	<i>Cyrtosperma</i> taro	few rank 11-15
Moderately preferred	<i>aenpat pahsruhk</i>	few rank in top 5,
	<i>kihriyacf</i>	most rank 6-10,
	<i>aenpat mos</i>	few rank 11-15
	<i>aenpat usr</i> <i>pahsruhk usr</i>	
Unpreferred	<i>furoh</i>	few rank in top 5,
	<i>ap</i>	some rank 6-10,
	<i>tihpihr</i>	most rank 11-15
	bananas, plantains	

Note: Imported foods are capitalized, as RICE.

^aI use "staple" to refer to starchy foods that are eaten at most meals. Except at the morning meal, they ordinarily are accompanied by some kind of meat or fish, although the quantity of the latter may be small and it often is omitted at the midday meal.

^bThe four categories of ranking were determined using the criteria listed in the third column. Of course, the labels are my own.

^cThe unfamiliar terms in this column are Kosraen names for dishes made from a combination of locally produced ingredients, except *furoh*, "preserved breadfruit." For example, *kihriyacf* is pounded ripe banana, plantains, and coconut milk wrapped in banana leaves baked in the earth oven; *pahsruhk usr* is *Cyrtosperma* pounded with bananas and baked; and so forth.

^dRank ordering of foods in order of preference was determined as follows. For each food, the number of individuals ranking it first, second, and so on to fifteenth was recorded. This yielded four categories that I labeled as indicated in the column Ranking. The four levels of ranking, then, are more or less "natural" categories, in that the ordering fell inductively into the labeled classes, the divisions between which were relatively sharp.

they subsist more on local foods because their relatively lower income forces them to do so. Notice that this hypothesis is equivalent to saying that the greater cash income of job households alone is sufficient to account for their greater spending on imported foods.

Kosraens do make a cultural distinction between "Kosraen foods" (*mongo Kosrae*) and "foreign foods" (*mongo paclahng*), but at this general level most people express no systematic preference for one over the other.⁷ To decide whether villagers preferred imports to native foods, it was necessary to inquire about individual foods and dishes. A food preference survey was conducted among ten households, with thirty-four

TABLE 4. Preferences for Fourteen Most Common Protein Sources^a

Ranking ^b	Food	Criteria for Ranking ^c
Highly preferred	CHICKEN wild pigeon TURKEY TAILS	most rank in top 3, several rank 4-8, few or none rank 9-14
Preferred	BEEF eggs pork fish	many rank in top 3, most rank 4-9, few rank 10-14
Moderately preferred	CORNED BEEF lobster SPAM mangrove crab BREAD	few rank in top 5, most rank 6-11, few rank 12-14
Unpreferred	SARDINE MACKEREL	none rank in top 3, very few rank 4-9, most rank 10-14

Note: Imported foods are capitalized, as SPAM.

^a“Protein source” is a gloss for the Kosraen term *achnuht*, eaten as a complement (at many meals) to the staples of Table 3. One exception is bread, which may or may not be considered *achnuht*.

^bSee note b of Table 3.

^cThe relative ranks were determined using the same methodology as for staple foods (see note d of Table 3). Again, the categories in the first column are relatively unambiguous, that is, foods could be assigned with little difficulty to one or the other category. One exception is beef, which fell inductively between the highly preferred and preferred ranks, but somewhat closer to preferred.

adults and young adults ranking the most common foods according to how well they “liked” them. The results appear in Tables 3 and 4. In the staple category (Table 3), locally produced yams, breadfruit, and *Colocasia* taro were preferred over rice, although the latter is eaten two or three times daily by most employed households. In the protein category (Table 4), the highly preferred foods were imported chickens and salted turkey tails, and locally hunted wild pigeons. However, only a few very well off households consumed these on an everyday basis, due to the high price of chickens and turkey tails and the difficulty of shooting wild pigeons. Almost all consumption of chicken and turkey tails was in ceremonial contexts. The relevant comparison for the present discussion is between the remaining three categories of preference, for most of these foods were consumed in the everyday diet. Canned mackerel and sardines, although consumed more often than any other source of pro-

tein, were unpreferred foods. Fresh fish, mangrove crabs, and lobster were preferred over the two imports that substitute for them in the everyday diet. This survey indicates that there is no preference for common imported foods over native foods, with the exception of bananas and plantains, regarded as rather monotonous. At the least, it seems justified to conclude that higher cash incomes combined with a widespread preference for imported foods is not sufficient to account for why job households are less active in subsistence pursuits. What else might contribute?

Time Scarcity and the Cost of Jobs

A major cause of the reduced subsistence activities of job households is the fact that wage labor takes up most of the total male time available for cultivation and fishing. This influence also is intuitive: if employed men spend most of their time on the job, then their households have less total male time available for other uses. However, the point is obvious only in the context of the local-level conditions of the agricultural economy summarized earlier. If these endogenous conditions were different, the exogenously provided opportunity to engage in wage labor would not affect the household economies of job holders in the same way or to the same degree. In addition, because the time spent on the job subtracts man hours from subsistence work, employment has a significant material opportunity cost in foregone subsistence production, not to mention its nonmaterial adverse effects on the retention of local cultural norms and practices. For this reason, even considering only material welfare, government employment is not a total windfall to the economy, and this fact may have practical implications. Before pursuing these points, I give supporting evidence for the opportunity cost argument.

First, the hours spent on the job consume about three-fourths of the time of employed men (Table 1), based on a six-day week due to the cultural prohibition against work on Sunday. Further, work hours in 1975 were from eight to five, Monday through Friday, a schedule that interferes with the maintenance of garden work at previous levels. To be sure, about two hours of daylight remain after work, but in general only those fortunate job holders who have access to gardens located near their houses use this time for agriculture. Travel time to most gardens and back is between one-half and one hour, and in most people's judgment this leaves insufficient time to locate and harvest mature bananas, plantains, breadfruit, and taro. As a result, most job holders choose to

engage in subsistence pursuits only on Saturdays. In sum, the hours and unfortunate scheduling of government employment objectively consumes labor time and conflicts with subsistence activities.

Second, subjectively many employed villagers perceive that a major cost of their job is a reduction in the time they can devote to cultivation, fishing, copra production, church work, and other productive and cultural activities.⁸ As mentioned, the labor of adolescent boys to which most households have access can, and for many households does, meliorate the effect of employment on household subsistence work. However, few job-holding family heads are willing to work these boys, most of whom themselves are in school and have homework, long enough to maintain as high a level of production as jobless households.

An elementary economic argument shows why employment results in reduced participation in autosubsistence activities. As shown in Table 1, jobless men had over three times more leisure than job holders. Each unit of time given to leisure is more valuable to employed than to unemployed men. Consequently, each unit of time that a job holder allocates to subsistence work has a relatively higher opportunity cost in foregone leisure. There may be enough hours in a week to make it *possible* for employees to participate in subsistence work at the same level as jobless men, but to do so would require a high level of "self-exploitation"; on average, job holders are unlikely to tolerate this for long periods.

Similar reasoning applies to the relative mix of availability of cash and time between the two categories of households. Because job households, in general, have more cash income than jobless ones, while they have less male time, job households are more likely to substitute imported foods bought with cash for local foods "bought" with their labor time.⁹ Further, the imported rice and tinned meats and fish consumed every day by most job households are easier to prepare as well as to acquire than their locally produced counterparts; the labor time of female as well as male members thereby is conserved. (See Linder 1970 for an analysis that shows why there is a generalized increase in the scarcity of time as incomes rise, leading to a greater emphasis on time-saving activities.)

It is worth noting that I do not claim that employment makes it impossible for a household to maintain a high level of subsistence self-sufficiency; rather, it alters the constraints on job households such that their choices are more likely to be patterned in the direction of reduced time spent in subsistence. Nor do I claim that the relative scarcity of men's time is the only causal factor; for example, job households may have acquired more of a taste for imported foods, although I would be surprised if this is the case. My claims are two: first, that simple avail-

ability of more cash alone is insufficient to account for the difference; second, that the loss of men's time due to employment reduces a household resource (male labor), and that therefore wage work carries an opportunity cost in foregone subsistence production.

Wider Implications

Two conclusions may be drawn from the preceding description and analysis. The first relates to the significance of conditions of the island's agricultural economy in understanding the response of households to employment. If these local-level conditions were different, job households would pursue different economic strategies. For example, if indigenous cultigens required large labor inputs, or if employees lacked or were to lose their access to land, then wage laborers would be more of a proletariat than they were at the time of my study, and the differences between job and jobless households correspondingly more marked. Or if women as well as men normally worked in subsistence agriculture (as is the case in many other Micronesian high islands and atolls), households with male job holders potentially would be able to maintain a higher level of self-sufficiency by intensifying the labor of women. Thus, the argument of this paper should not be applied indiscriminately to other Micronesian islands with different local conditions of crop types, division of labor, land tenure, and production organization. Especially, it should not be applied to the towns with migrants who have found employment with the administration.

The second conclusion may have practical implications. As shown, government jobs carry an opportunity cost in the subsistence pursuits that job households give up. Therefore, although externally funded, the increased cash income that employment brings is not entirely an economic windfall; it has been bought with the time that wage labor detracts from agriculture, fishing, copra production, and from "non-economic" activities that many Kosraens value culturally, such as church and social life. Accordingly, aggregate statistics on the growth of cash income are misleading to the extent that they give the impression that material living standards have increased at the same rate as monetary income. To determine the village's net increase in welfare, the value of foregone subsistence production (indeed, the value of all it foregoes as a consequence of employment) must be subtracted from its gain in cash income. Because cash values cannot be assigned to much of what it gives up, such a calculation is impossible to perform, but clearly welfare growth has not kept pace with income growth.

It follows also that statistics on declining cash income would overesti-

mate the loss in material welfare *if* the fall in income is brought about by decreased participation in the wage-earning sector and *if* local people retain control over their land and sea resources. For example, in Kosrae, assume that a 50 percent reduction in the government payroll is implemented by shortening everyone's work week, rather than by selective lay-offs. Assume further that the reduction in hours and wages is implemented gradually, to give employees time to replant gardens that many of them abandoned partially when they obtained a job. Then, as job hours are reduced, a major constraint on participation in subsistence activities, namely the scarcity of men's time, is removed. The preceding analysis predicts that most of this time will be reallocated into the subsistence sector and much of the loss in cash income will be made up for by increased production of local foods, increased sales of copra, and increased participation in other activities that job holders now forego. If a calculation were possible, it would probably show that material welfare had declined, but (and this is the point) not by as much as the decline in cash income.

The applicability of this forecast to other islands in the Federated States of Micronesia is problematic, due to differences in their local conditions. On other islands, populations may have grown so much that production increases sufficient to feed the residents could not be sustained, in spite of the freeing of labor from wage work. However, for those islands on which Kosraen conditions are replicated or are similar, reducing dependence on American monies need not entail as drastic a fall in living standards as usually assumed by both Micronesians and expatriates.

NOTES

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1. The best account of the history of American involvement in the islands is McHenry (1975). Other sources on the impact of U.S. policy on Micronesia are Colletta (1979), Gale (1979), Goodman and Moos (1981), Heine (1974), and Nevin (1977).
2. There are two partial exceptions to the norm. One is when a well-off man pays the women of a Christian ceremonial group for slashing weeds from his land. This is done to

provide financial help for the group's activities as much as to accomplish the weeding. The other is the unusual circumstance in which no suitable males are available to a household. An example is the household of a municipal government official. The man himself was at his office most days, and had no male dependents of suitable age in his household to garden. This led his teenaged daughters sometimes to harvest produce, an activity about which he and his family often joked.

3. Childless couples, or those with fewer than three children, usually adopt an infant from a relative (Ritter 1981). The adoption relation often is not permanent, the adoptee returning to his or her biological parents during adolescence. But in cases in which the adopting couple have no natural sons, male adoptees tend to stay with their adopted parents to improve their chances of inheriting land (Ritter 1981:54). This practice probably has the unintended system-wide effect of more equally distributing land between families.

4. Availability of land and its tenure are complicated by the fact that much of the island officially is owned by no Kosraen, but is classified as public land. To Kosraens, this means (United States) "government land." At the time of my work village claimants to part of this land were disputing vigorously surveys that denied their rights to parcels they believed were taken by force by the Japanese, then carried over into the American administration under the classification "public lands."

5. I emphasize that the present discussion deals only with the provision of food for *everyday* use. Kosraens also consume large quantities of food at various ceremonies and feasts. The principles by which labor and money are organized to provide for such events differ from those for daily consumption, so this "ceremonial demand" is discussed elsewhere (Peoples 1985).

6. If we define "productive activity" as time expenditures that transform some local resource into goods that are consumed or sold, the male "labor pool" of job households spent 17 percent of its time in gardening, fishing, copra, and carpentry; men and boys of jobless households spent 32 percent of their time in the same four productive activities.

7. However, some adults claimed that their young children "wanted to eat rice all the time," and that they sometimes bought rice just for their children.

8. Two middle-aged men told me that they intended to quit their government jobs once they had earned enough to retire their debts to the credit union for the imported building materials used in constructing their new houses. In both cases, one reason was that they had so little time available for subsistence.

9. Of course, imported foods ultimately are bought with labor time as well. An important topic is whether job household males spend more or less time (in wage work) to acquire subsistence than do jobless household males (in cultivation and fishing). I lack the data to resolve this question.

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EDITOR'S FORUM

PELE, ANCIENT GODDESS OF CONTEMPORARY HAWAII

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Probably no one will ever know exactly where the first Polynesian voyagers landed in the Hawaiian Islands. The earliest archaeological dates in Hawaii come from Oahu (Bellwood 1979:325), but there is no reason to believe that this was the first Hawaiian settlement. It may have been on the lonely, windswept point of Kalae on the "Big Island" of Hawaii, or on the verdant slopes of Kauai near Waimea, or even on tiny, barren Nihoa Island. Wherever the landing, the event passed unrecorded, and the imagination must be called upon to reconstruct the scene.

The islands must have presented a lonely, perhaps frightening aspect to those early human arrivals, but the joy of discovering land after so many weeks at sea no doubt overcame their initial fears. After satisfying immediate needs for food and water, those first Hawaiians probably made offerings to their gods for the safe voyage, as well as for protection in their new home. The deities they brought to Hawaii were the same great gods found among the southern Polynesian islands—Kane, Kanaloa, Ku, Lono, and the many other Polynesian gods so well known throughout the South Pacific in stories and chants. But most important to this discussion, they brought with them the memory of a deity associated with fire. In Hawaii, this deity became the goddess Pele, and during the early settlement period probably maintained an insignificant role in Hawaiian religious life. But on the island of Hawaii, Pele was destined to hold a greater position in the Hawaiian pantheon; the great

volcanoes became her home, their power her strength, and their unpredictability her temperament. A large body of myth evolved around the goddess Pele that told of her journey to the islands, her search for a suitable home, her love affairs, and her battles with her rivals.

When the first Europeans arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, Pele dominated the volcano area of Hawaii and was the object of a well-developed religious cult. Her most ardent worshipers lived within the districts of Hawaii most frequently inundated by volcanic eruptions. Here, she was a protective deity for the important families of the area. Temples were erected for her worship where priests and priestesses conducted rituals and offered sacrifices to appease her tempestuous moods. Throughout the rest of the Hawaiian Islands, she was known in legends and chants, but was less important as an object of worship since her fiery threat was not imminent.

Shortly after the European discovery of Hawaii, missionaries arrived to convert the native population to Christianity. Their proselytizing activities were successful, and within an amazingly short time most of the Hawaiian royalty had converted to Christianity with their subjects variously acculturated to the new religion. The result was, of course, the abandonment of the old deities. Members of chiefly families publicly renounced the traditional gods, and with the encouragement of missionaries, destroyed their temples and images. During the following century, the old gods declined as objects of worship, finally to be remembered only through legends except by a few diehards who refused to abandon the old ways.

An exception to the demise of the ancient gods, however, was Pele. Although her existence was repeatedly denied by missionaries and Hawaiian leaders (such as Queen Kapiolani, who personally visited the volcanic crater at Kilauea in 1824 to defy Pele's power), she survived the Christianization of Hawaii and lives today as an important figure in the worldview of contemporary Hawaii.

This paper discusses contemporary beliefs of Pele in the Hawaiian Islands as they have been reported by the English language press. The investigation begins at the turn of the century, when accounts of encounters with Pele began to appear in print, and extends to the present time. In addition, stories collected by the author during intermittent residence and visits in Hawaii over the past twenty-five years are included. Excluded from this discussion are the traditional Hawaiian myths and legends of Pele. These were early collected by students of Hawaiianiana and have been frequently reprinted during the past century. Their currency serves to remind the Hawaiian public of Pele's tradition.

tional activities and doubtlessly inspires some of her contemporary manifestations, but their various retellings and reinterpretations warrant a special study, and are beyond the scope of this investigation.

This paper focuses on the various manifestations of Pele as reported by persons who claim to have encountered the goddess; the rituals, ceremonies, and offerings made to Pele in contemporary times; and nontraditional roles that Pele has assumed in recent years. Finally, it explores some possible reasons for the persistence of belief in Pele in the Hawaiian Islands.

Manifestations

When a volcano erupts on the island of Hawaii, stories invariably begin to circulate about persons who have seen a Hawaiian woman who displayed behavior mysterious enough to convince them she was Pele. Probably such alleged sightings of Pele prior to a volcanic eruption are ancient in Hawaii, but actual documentation of them has occurred only during this century. In recent years, as the cult of Pele has been popularized by the Hawaiian media, reporters appear to scour the islands at the time of volcanic eruptions to find persons who have seen the illusive goddess. And almost always, someone has. Sometimes she is a beautiful young woman dressed in flowing red or white, while at other times she is an ugly old crone, decrepit and ragged—both traditional guises of Pele. But whatever the guise, she is the volcano goddess en route to the volcanoes to stir up activity. Sometimes she is simply seen by someone, sometimes she asks for food or lodging, at other times she is hitchhiking and offered a ride, during which she may engage in conversation. And almost always, she mysteriously disappears after or during the encounters.

The earliest version of the hitchhiking story appears in a 1926 article by Eliza D. Maguire. Since it no doubt served as inspiration for some of the later stories, it is quoted here in full.

One day towards the end of the year 1925, a vision appeared to a few people in the Kau and South Kona Districts. An old woman, bent and feeble, was walking along the roadside near Keei, South Kona, when an automobile passed by her without any sign of greeting. A second automobile passed and again no notice was taken of her. A third went by; a new Ford driven by a young Japanese, and destined for a family said to be descendants of the Goddess Pele. He stopped and greeted her.

"Aloha!" She returned his greeting, saying "Aloha!" Then he asked, "Where are you going?" In reply she mentioned a place near to where the boy was taking his new Ford. He said to her: "Get in and I will take you."

On the way, the two cars which had passed the old woman by, were found stalled by the wayside with trouble. The old woman went by smiling.

When near the new Ford's station, the driver spoke to the old woman, saying, "My journey is soon ended, but if you are going further, I will take you." Receiving no reply, he turned around and found the seat empty. The old woman had vanished. On relating the incident to a Hawaiian, the Japanese driver was told that the old woman could be none other than Pele, the Goddess of the Volcano.

A 1937 book by Harry Franck described Pele's typical manifestations:

She usually appears in the form of an old woman asking some slight favor such as a bite to eat or a spot in which to spend the night, or . . . as a hitch-hiker. More than one person who has inhospitably refused food or lodging to some unprepossessing old woman has been mighty sorry for it afterward. Her hands are claws and she cannot be transported, according to those who know her best. Yet just before that latest eruption, she asked a Chinese living on Kauai for a ride, got into the back of his car—through a window, the story runs—lighted a cigarette and . . . disappeared into thin air. (Pp. 29-30)

Similarly, Tyler (1939) tells of a chauffeur who was driving to the volcanoes at night. Along the road he saw an old Hawaiian woman wearing a *holoku* (long Hawaiian dress) and *lei*, hitchhiking. He stopped for her and she regally climbed into the backseat, thanking him profusely and saying that she needed a ride to the volcano. When they arrived at the volcano the driver got out of the vehicle and opened the back door, but was startled to find that she had vanished. Brumaghim (1941) reports that Pele appeared as an old crone hitchhiking along the roadside late at night. Two cars passed her by, but were stopped by engine trouble some distance on. A third car picked up the old woman, and as it passed the stalled cars they began to function normally.

According to Ashdown (1950), Pele was encountered hitchhiking on

the island of Maui. One night, a month prior to an eruption on the island of Hawaii, a group of Japanese actors was traveling home after a performance in Lahaina. As they drove down the road, "a white-haired woman dressed in a holoku and leaning on a stick" hailed them down. She turned out to be Hawaiian and asked them for a ride. They told her their car was too crowded, but that their friends were coming behind them in another car and they would give her a ride. She became angry and stepped away from the car. When the driver tried to start his car, it would not start. Meanwhile the second car drove by and later its occupants said they had seen no one on the road. A third vehicle, a truck carrying the actors' musical instruments, came down the road and approached an old woman. The driver stopped and the woman got into the cab with the driver and his companion. As they continued down the road they neared the stalled car of the first group of actors. When the driver slowed to assist them the old woman told him not to stop: "Go on! The car will not start. They would not give me Kokua (assistance)." The driver sensed the woman might be Pele, so he obeyed her. His companion, sitting in the center of the seat, also sensed the woman was Pele, so he eased away from her toward the driver. The old woman knew his thoughts and laughed, saying: "Don't be afraid. I won't hurt kind people. I want some tobacco." They offered her cigarettes but she scoffed at them, saying she did not like such tobacco. They stopped at a small store and bought some "Bull Durham and papers" for her which she seemed to like. When they reached their destination in Kahului, one of the men helped the old woman from the truck to the sidewalk. He turned to get back into the truck, and when he again looked in her direction the old woman had disappeared.

Pele has also been reported on the island of Kauai. Hardy (1957) tells of an event that allegedly occurred during the 1920s. An old Chinese man picked up an old woman one day while driving from Mana to Waimea. She rode in the backseat, and as they drove down the road asked for a cigarette and matches, which he gave her. As he neared his destination he asked her if she wanted to get out, but turning discovered there was no one in the backseat. He retraced his drive thinking she might have fallen from the car, but could not find her. His Hawaiian friends told him the passenger was Pele.

During a 1960 eruption near Kapoho, several persons reported seeing Pele. A Hilo man reported giving rides to two "strikingly beautiful maidens, both dressed in red." Soon after they reached the volcano area, the volcano fountains grew higher, the air became thick with ash, and

the passengers disappeared. Another man gave a ride to "a maiden dressed in red who insisted on drinking straight gin when the party stopped at an Olaa tavern" (Engledow 1960).

A Japanese man said that a man was once driving at night from Kona to Hilo on the island of Hawaii on a road that cuts through lava wastes. He saw an old woman by the side of the road, but drove past her without stopping. He later glanced in his rearview mirror, and, much to his surprise, the old woman was sitting in his backseat. The woman was, of course, believed to be Pele (Nimmo 1962). A variant of this story was related by a Filipino man. A man driving at night on Kauai picked up a beautiful young woman dressed completely in white. She sat in the backseat. He continued down the road at high speed. When he reached his destination he discovered that the young woman had disappeared from the backseat. The informant said he had also heard another version that claimed the woman was an old Hawaiian with long hair (Nimmo 1962).

L. R. McBride reports another motorist's encounter with Pele:

In 1962, a motorist near Kalapana was stopped at night by an old woman. She gestured that she wanted a smoke and the driver fumbled a cigarette through the barely open window to her. With a snap of the fingers the old woman produced a flame, frightening the visitor into speeding away. Days later he was still reluctant to admit that the woman might have scratched a match with her thumbnail. (1968:43)

A similar encounter was reported by a "college-educated, part-Hawaiian":

Here I was driving along the Kona Belt Road . . . just a little after dawn . . . and this old, old lady flags me down and wants to ride to Kailua . . . she gets into the back seat and asks me for a cigarette . . . I hand her a package over my shoulder . . . she takes them . . . I ask her if she has a match . . . I get no answer . . . I turn around to ask her again and she is gone . . . and so are my cigarettes . . . and I'm driving about forty miles an hour! (Quoted in Belknap 1967a; omissions in original)

A young Hawaiian man told me that his parents were driving on a lonely road at night on the island of Hawaii. At a bend in the road their headlights revealed an old woman, dressed in white, who had no feet.

They were frightened and did not stop to investigate further. She was assumed to be Pele (Nimmo 1967).

Pele's appearances do not always involve hitchhiking, for she approaches people in many different situations. Invariably, however, her appearance brings forth predictions of an eruption.

In 1927 an old Hawaiian man claimed that an old Hawaiian woman appeared at his home at dusk. She asked him for *awa* root, but he had none to give her. He offered her dinner, which she accepted. She ate an enormous amount of food and then accepted her host's offer to stay overnight. He made up a bed for her and then went upstairs to his own bed. The next morning when he awakened the blankets had been returned upstairs to their proper place, and the woman was gone. Although the narrator of the story was not certain the woman was Pele, the reporter and other residents of the island of Hawaii were, and anticipated a volcanic eruption in the near future (Stroup 1927).

A 1929 *Honolulu Advertiser* article reports, "Many stories are told of the appearance of Pele in the form of a withered old woman, and it is said that always following the presence, Kilauea again spits forth fire." A magazine article adds that Pele often "calls on people as an old woman and invites them for a smoke," which is a sure sign that a volcanic eruption will follow (Taylor 1929).

According to a 1934 newspaper story, Pele most frequently visits Kona prior to an eruption. She goes from door to door seeking food, and while the host turns to get the food, she disappears. If one refuses her food, she will direct her lava toward that house, while those who give her food need never fear her wrath (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1934a).

In 1937 an old Hawaiian man claimed to have seen Pele at Waipio and predicted that a flow would appear there. The next morning the volcano erupted and the lava flowed down the north slope of Mauna Loa (Jones 1937). On another occasion an old woman stopped at a country home to ask for tobacco. The occupant left to get the tobacco and returned to find the old woman had vanished. She was, of course, assumed to be Pele. On still another occasion, Pele was first reported in Kohala, on the northern end of Hawaii, and then near Hilo, on the southeast side of Hawaii. Within hours of her sightings, Mauna Loa began to erupt, first flowing in the direction of Kohala, and then turning in the direction of Hilo, allegedly following the path of Pele (Bru-maghim 1941).

A Portuguese man from Hawaii told Robert Davis (1941) that the particular dress in which Pele appears will determine the type of eruption that will follow. If she appears in dark tapa cloth, "there will be

earthquakes and belching of rocks and lava from the cones," but if she appears in white, lava will simply stream down the side of the mountain. The informant claimed: "A man from Hoopuloa saw her about the 10th of April walking along the Belt Road."

A staff member at the volcano observatory told of his encounter with Pele in 1938. Late one August evening he and his family and friends were picnicking on the beach at Punaluu. As darkness descended they noticed an old Hawaiian woman move toward them over the lava rocks, dressed in "long black draperies like a nun's." Her face was indistinguishable, and shortly after she passed the group she disappeared. One of the children cried that the woman was Pele, and that she should be given something to eat. His mother told him they had nothing left but peanuts and she would not want them—besides, she was gone. The group went home, some convinced they had seen Pele. During the next twenty-four hours, a series of three hundred earthquakes shook the island, and the woman who had discouraged her child from giving food to Pele had an acute attack of appendicitis (Fergusson 1947:162-163).

Prior to a 1950 eruption, many reports of Pele's appearance were made. As an old woman or a young girl she reportedly stopped at several houses requesting a glass of water. One person whose house was visited placed a bit of ti leaf in the water, claiming this would protect his home from lava. Various other residents of Hawaii reported seeing a strange woman, believed to be Pele, walking down the road or loitering about their homes. A group of tourists visiting the volcano were told by an old Hawaiian man to avoid a particular path because Pele had been seen there. They ignored him and continued their journey. Within minutes a strong earthquake shook the area. Had they not been stopped by the old man, they would have been at the crater's edge where they would have fallen into the pit (Rothwell 1950).

During the 1984 Mauna Loa eruption, a woman described a 1955 encounter with a man believed to be Pele at Kaumana Caves on the Big Island. It is one of the few accounts that portrays Pele as a man.

The woman said that she and her husband were visiting the cave when a strange looking man came out of nowhere. They began talking to him and eventually gave the man a ride back toward Hilo. "I thought he was drunk because his eyes were red," she said. But in the course of conversation the strange old man said the next eruption would be in Puna and later there would be a big eruption on Mauna Loa. Then he disappeared. Since there had not been a Puna eruption in some time, the

Waimea man and woman discounted what they heard. But the next day, Kilauea erupted . . . in Puna. "And now I'm wondering if the second half is coming true," the woman said. (Frederick 1984)

Pele's appearance does not always signal an eruption. In 1927 she appeared on Maui. An elderly Malayan man said that "a bent old lady" appeared at his door in Lahaina and asked if she could come in. He invited her in and she requested a pipe of tobacco which he supplied. She lighted the pipe with a flick of her hand. During the course of her visit, she said that she was Pele. The Malay described her as follows: "Her hair is coal black and on her head she wore a straw hat with a black, white and red colored band and her holuku of black was very much worn and covered with patches. She had a little dog with her." Two others reported seeing Pele in Lahaina the same day. From one, she requested a glass of water (*Maui News* 1927). There was no subsequent volcanic activity.

In 1951 a park ranger saw a "tall and cadaverous" woman with flaming red hair and "piercing eyes" on a road at night in the volcano area. Although it was later learned that the figure was a visitor trying to find her way back to Volcano House, the ranger was never told of her true identity and continued to believe he had seen Pele (Apple and Apple 1980). According to a 1959 report,

Alice Kamokila Campbell, a former territorial senator, had her visions of Pele added to the Hawaii state senate record at the request of the senate president. Mrs. Campbell said she had seen "a beautiful young woman standing on the embankment of my sacred pool. She wore a long flaming gown, and her jet-black hair hung down to her knees." According to Mrs. Campbell, this figure had appeared to her on Nov. 9 and, when recognized as Pele, disappeared. (Quoted in Flanders 1984)

A young Filipino boy told me an old Hawaiian woman once entered a store in Kona to make a minor purchase. When she left the storekeeper noticed that she had no feet. The storekeeper assumed she was Pele (Nimmo 1962).

A 1964 report describes how "on a path in a desolate region near Halemaumau, a man and his wife passed a beautiful blonde woman. When the husband looked back for a complete appraisal, the young woman had vanished. That same afternoon the couple decided the

woman was Pele and cut short their visit, and returned to the mainland" (L. R. McBride 1968:43-44). Delaplane (1984) recounts the following appearance of Pele as told to him by a "beachboy" on Maui:

Sometimes Pele takes the shape of an old woman. Many people have seen her. Sam Mia was a yard man and resident *kahuna* at Coco Palms on the island of Kauai. He told me about it.

"One night I was jus' sittin' in my house. Drink a little gin. I feel something behind me! Make my hair stand on end. I peek over my shoulders, see little old Hawaiian lady. Boy, I scare!"

"When Sam looked again she had disappeared.

"That was Pele!"

Pele has been seen during actual eruptions as well. During a 1955 eruption, three men from the island of Hawaii said they "saw Pele walk through the lava fountains about one hundred yards from where they stood." They "couldn't tell whether she was clothed and couldn't make out her face" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1955).

During the course of an aerial survey of an eruption in 1975, a geologist saw some people at a rest cabin near the eruption.

Two people were in front of the cabin and he saw a third person, a woman, on the porch of the cabin. Knowing the danger they could face, he radioed the Park Service, who arranged a helicopter, noting it would take two lifts to bring out the three people.

Later, [the geologist] found the helicopter had made one trip and brought out two persons who said, on questioning, that there was no woman with them. Still later, [the geologist] talked with his companion that day, who confirmed that he also had glimpsed a woman on the porch, a woman wearing a dress, a woman whose face and hair could not be recalled. But definitely a female form on that porch. . . . (Stone 1977:21-22)

The geologist did not state that the woman he saw was Pele, but the account certainly implies her to be.

A "scientist," who preferred to remain anonymous, told a reporter that he had seen Pele during an eruption on Mauna Loa: "The thing that struck me about the woman was that she was barefoot. . . . My hairs stood up. We went down to find her but she wasn't there. There

wasn't any explanation. I used to laugh at people who said they saw this and they saw that. But not anymore" (Nakao 1985).

In recent years Pele has displayed some curiosity about the proliferation of hotels in Hawaii, especially Hilton hotels. The only published reference I have found regarding Pele's visits to Hilton hotels in Hawaii is in Luomala's article (1972), which recounts three stories told of women, usually young and beautiful, who signed into Hilton hotels in Hawaii, and after being shown to their rooms mysteriously disappeared. Similarly, a Filipino woman from Honolulu told me she had heard that an old Hawaiian woman dressed in white had checked into the Hilton Hotel in Waikiki with many suitcases. After being taken to her room, she asked the bellhop to get her some ice water. The bellhop did so, and when he returned both the woman and all her luggage were gone. He claimed that her body as well as her luggage had emanated great heat. The woman was, of course, believed to be Pele (Nimmo 1967). A young Japanese man told me that his friend worked as a bellhop at the Hilton Hawaiian Village hotel in Waikiki. One evening a beautiful young Hawaiian woman, dressed in a long red dress, signed into the hotel with no luggage. As the bellhop showed her to her assigned room, he noted that her dress seemed to be burnt at the hem. He turned to open the window of her room, and when he turned around she had disappeared. That night there was a volcanic eruption on the island of Hawaii (Nimmo 1976).

No one has reported seeing Pele outside the Hawaiian Islands, although a story circulating in the islands in the summer of 1980 suggests that she may sometimes leave. The day before the spectacular volcanic eruption of Mt. St. Helens in Washington, a withered old Hawaiian woman was seen at the Honolulu International Airport awaiting a flight to Seattle. Not coincidentally, believers said, Mt. St. Helens erupted the following day (Nimmo 1980).

A common element in today's Pele lore is that the goddess becomes angry and sometimes causes an eruption if she is denied a request for food, water, or some other commodity. This aspect of the tales has roots in a traditional story, probably told long before Europeans came to the islands and commonly found in early collections of Hawaiian folklore. It tells of two girls, sometimes sisters, who are visited by an old woman who asks for breadfruit. One of the sisters denies the old woman's request, whereas the other grants it. The old woman leaves, but shortly after a lava flow comes to the home of the sisters. The one who denied the request of the old woman is destroyed, while the other who granted

the request is spared. The old woman was Pele, of course (Beckwith 1940).

Accounts of Pele's anger when her requests are denied appear as incidental themes in some of the preceding stories of her hitchhiking and other appearances. However, during the years of Pele's documentation by the modern press, stories have been recounted that deal specifically with this theme. The general message is: Never deny the request of an old Hawaiian woman, for she may be Pele.

Maguire (1926) relates a local account of how a Big Island village was destroyed by lava in 1926. An old woman requested fish from a man, Kaanaana:

Kaanaana . . . knew that just such visits and requests had been made to his mother and grandmother in years past, and now when this old woman had appeared to him and requested a fish, he had denied her and said the fish were all sold to the market in the city. Shortly after the home of the unfortunate man was destroyed by a lava flow.

A brief story in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (1934b) tells of the dangers of denying Pele's wishes:

She [Pele] goes from door to door asking for food. Sometimes when you turn to seek poi and fish, she disappears before you come back. If you refuse food, you are likely to be in danger of her fiery streams. But if you offer her what she wants graciously, you need never fear Pele's wrath.

Tyler (1939) reports that prior to a flow at Kupoloa, an old Hawaiian woman entered the village. She stopped at a house, said she was very hungry, and asked if she could have some fish. The family denied her food, so she turned, walked through the garden gate, and disappeared. Shortly thereafter, a lava flow came cascading down the hillside and obliterated the house where the old woman had been denied fish.

In a similar account an old woman came down from the hills into a village and asked for food. The people at the house stoned her from the yard and set the dogs on her. Further down the road, she stopped at another house where she again asked for food. This time she was fed. When finished, she asked her host if he owned his land. He replied that he did. She told him that he should mark the corners of his property with large white stones, and then she vanished. That night a lava flow

descended into the village. The land belonging to the people who had denied the old woman's request was covered with lava, but the land of the family who gave food to the old woman was spared (Tyler 1939).

Fergusson (1947:281-282) relates a story told to him by a Hawaiian woman explaining why a man named Ii was mentally retarded:

"One time," Malia said, "a Hawaiian family would not give when people came asking food. They would say no food and then eat poi, fish, chicken, everything. One day a man came, hungry. But they told him they have no food, so he went away, and they laugh and eat. But that time no ordinary man, he. He maybe Madam Pele. . . . You haoles don't believe that. But you wait. I tell you. When they shut the door that time, that man curse them. He say every one of their children going to have something wrong. And that's what happened. One child go pupule house (you know, crazy). One kill man, go penitentiary. One killed in accident. One girl die with her child; and that child have no papa. And poor Ii, he the other one. I take care of him because Madam Pele curse his people for being stingy."

During the spectacular Mauna Loa eruption in 1984, Pele requested food from a Big Island woman and, upon receiving it, told the woman that her home would not be destroyed by lava flows (Frederick 1984).

For many years George Lycurgus, longtime manager of Volcano House, was responsible probably more than any other person for keeping Pele in the public eye. Lycurgus came to Hawaii from his native Greece via San Francisco in 1893, when he first entered the hotel business. He acquired Volcano House in 1904, sold it in 1921, and reacquired it in 1932. He continued to be associated with Volcano House until his death in 1960 at the age of 101.

Lycurgus was a believer in Pele throughout his life. The skeptic may claim that his stories of seeing and talking to Pele, as well as his ritual offerings of gin to the goddess, greatly helped his hotel business, but in all fairness it appears the man firmly believed in the existence of Pele. Lycurgus was a colorful public figure in his later years, and, not surprisingly, the press periodically featured stories about his relationship with Pele.

In a 1944 article, one of Lycurgus' earliest contacts with Pele is recounted. He and his friends had joined a group of Hawaiians at a luau on the edge of Halemaumau, the volcanic crater traditionally believed

to be Pele's home. It was dark when they arrived, and shortly after their arrival they saw someone approaching.

There, not seventy-five feet away, was a skinny, bent old woman with straggly strings of grey-white hair hanging down her back, clutching a shawl to her shoulders with skinny hands. She was walking, with the aid of a twisted, twining coffeewood stick, toward the edge of the pit. (Howard 1944)

One of the party invited her to join them for food. She declined to join them saying she had work to do. She then turned, walked toward the pit, and disappeared. They became alarmed that she had fallen into the pit and so began to look for her. Someone suddenly realized the old woman was Pele, and almost immediately Halemaumau began to erupt so violently that the party had to mount their horses and leave the area.

Lycurgus, quoting an unidentified 1921 article, tells of an old Hawaiian man who, during his youth, saw Pele appear as "a beautiful young woman of great stature clothed all in white kapa" (May 1946). In his 1953 book Castro relates a conversation he held with Lycurgus regarding his belief in Pele. Part of the Volcano House complex had burned down and it looked as if the fire were going to consume all the dwellings. Lycurgus cried out: "God . . . can nothing save this place from complete destruction?" At that moment the winds changed, the blaze stopped, and the remaining buildings were saved from destruction. Lycurgus attributed it to Pele. When asked when he last saw Pele and what she looked like, he replied:

Dark robed, black hair, moving in the flames, but apart from them. I last saw her in the 1909 eruption. Twice before I saw her, always the same shape. . . . I can prove nothing but I believe in Pele. When Kilauea or Mauna Loa blaze up, strange things happen, things I can't explain. Don't ask too much. Why is it that the Hawaiians control the lava flowing by throwing chickens, roosters, leis, Ohelo berries and gin in front of the flood? They stopped Kilauea spouting September 6, 1934. You can quote me. I was there. (Quoted in Castro 1953)

When Lycurgus reacquired Volcano House in 1932, Halemaumau was inactive and business at the hotel was poor. A believer in Pele at this time, he decided to offer prayers and rituals at the volcano to coax the

goddess back to the crater and thereby improve business at the hotel. He and a Cherokee Indian, who acted as guide in the volcano area,

walked down to Halemaumau and invoked some prayers to the volcano goddess. Following that, they tossed into the fire pit an *Ohelo* berry lei made by Lancaster the Indian guide. As a final gesture, Lycurgus tossed in a bottle of gin which had been partially drained by him and Lancaster on the walk to the pit. More prayers followed and the two of them returned to the Volcano House for the night. (Castro 1953:18-19)

Within hours after the men went to bed, the volcano began erupting. The Cherokee Indian, Alexander P. Lancaster, was for many years a guide in the volcano area and a firm believer in Pele and her powers. He was locally nicknamed "Pele's grandson" (Castro 1953:50).

An interview with Lycurgus on his one hundredth birthday reveals more of his views on Pele. When asked if he had ever seen Pele, Lycurgus replied:

Oh, yes. I tell you. I saw Pele, in the fire. There is a woman . . . you can see a woman, in the flames . . . she comes out and walks around . . . then she goes back in the fire . . . and prays. . . .

The Hawaiians believe in Pele. Certainly I believe in Pele, too. Pele belongs to the Islands. She will come to tell us what to do. She always comes when we need her. Pele is bound to come soon. (Quoted in McKenzie 1960)

A recent addition to the Pele stories in Hawaii is a white dog. Sometimes a white dog accompanies Pele; sometimes Pele seems to take the form of a white dog; in other stories the white dog itself, apart from Pele, appears as a central figure.

The first report I found in the Hawaiian press of a white dog in connection with Pele occurs in 1927. Harry Stroup relates a story told to him by a man on the island of Hawaii. The man was visited one night by an old woman who needed a place to stay. He fixed a bed for her, and when he awoke the next morning discovered she had mysteriously disappeared. The following evening he returned from his work and found a big white dog sleeping on his bed. He chased the dog off with a brush, and it ran out the door and down a trail which had only one exit. He

waited at the exit, but it never came out, having disappeared somewhere on the short trail. These events were all associated with Pele (Stroup 1927). During the same year, Pele appeared on Maui with a dog, but no mention is made of its color (*Maui News* 1927). A 1962 article gives one of the first accounts of a white dog sighted near the volcanoes prior to an eruption.

Occasionally she [Pele] appears as "Mauna Loa's Phantom Dog"—a small white dog seen wandering shortly before an eruption on barren lava mountain slopes where, according to staff members of the Volcanic Observatory who saw him prior to the 1959 and 1960 eruptions, "There is neither food nor water for miles around—yet he appears to be fat, sleek and well fed. It is very mysterious." (Mellen 1962, 1963)

In 1964 the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* carried a story about the white dog, as well as a photo taken of the animal at Mauna Loa observatory. The dog was spotted intermittently in the area after it made its first appearance in October 1959.

The little white animal, weighing about ten to fifteen pounds, figures in a local legend which says he is Pele's dog and that his appearance heralds a volcanic eruption.

His batting average as a prognosticator has slipped in the last year or so, however.

His first two appearances, in 1959 and 1961, came shortly before Kilauea eruptions. (Bryan 1964)

That same year the Inquiring Reporter of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* asked: "Do you have any superstitions?" Among the respondents was a Hawaiian man who said: "I believe in the Hawaiian superstitions like Madame Pele . . . she creates the volcanic eruptions. And her little white dog—when you see its tracks that's a sign an eruption is coming" (Buckwalter 1964).

Belknap (1967b) relates a variant of the vanishing hitchhiker story that includes Pele's dog. According to him, an old Hawaiian couple were eating dinner one night when someone knocked on their door. They went to the door and saw an old woman with a big white dog. She asked for something to eat, so they invited her in for dinner and fed her dog a bowl of poi. After eating, she asked if she could sleep overnight. They assented and bedded her and her dog in a small room with a tiny

window, too small for either to exit. They closed the door and locked the only door to the outside. When they looked in the room the next morning, the old woman and the dog were gone, and the door to the outside was still locked. The old couple were convinced the woman was Pele and that she would never harm their home because of their hospitality to her.

I personally collected the following stories regarding Pele's dog (Nimmo 1976). According to a Japanese man from Hawaii, Pele can assume different animal forms, such as a dog or a pig. On several occasions, scientists at the volcano observatory have observed a white dog prior to and during an eruption; however, the dog has never been harmed by the lava. A Hawaiian man from Honolulu claimed that Pele often appears as a white dog near the volcanoes. According to a young Caucasian man from Oahu, Pele's dog can be found at the Pali Lookout on Oahu and is attracted to pork. Several young part-Hawaiian men decided to test the belief. They drove to the Pali with pork in their car. When they reached the top, the car stopped and none of the electrical equipment would function. Then a large black form moved out of the woods toward the car. The men threw the pork from the car and the form, believed to be Pele's dog, took it. The car immediately began to operate, and the men hurriedly left the area.

Delaplane (1984) relates the following account of a beachboy on Maui: "You see little white dog on de mountain, dat is Pele. Pretty soon dat volcano gonna blow its top, I'm telling you." A 1984 account relates that Pele appeared with a dog (no color mentioned) at the home of a Big Island woman (Frederick 1984).

As this paper amply documents, many people in Hawaii claim to have seen Pele. For the most part the sightings are by lone individuals, but in a couple of cases, several people together reported seeing Pele. The veracity of their stories was accepted by some, doubted by others, and the observers for the most part had only their word to fall back on. However, some people managed to take pictures of Pele, and when their photographs appeared in Hawaiian publications they caused considerable comment in the islands.

On 24 May 1924 a photograph of a current eruption at Kilauea was published in the *Honolulu Advertiser*. At first glance, the photograph appears to be a great column of smoke emerging from the volcanic crater. However, on closer inspection, the face of a handsome woman is clearly discernible in the smoke. According to the caption, the photo was taken by Bert Carlson a week earlier. He noticed the face only after

the photo was developed. Several prints were made of the negative to be sure that the face was not the result of faulty processing, but each print clearly revealed the same face. Carlson copyrighted the photo, and many copies of it were sold in Hilo. According to the story accompanying the photo in the *Advertiser*: "Old Hawaiians declared that it was the face of Madam Pele, and that she had shown herself and was leaving the pit in anger." There is no elaboration as to why she was angry (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1924).

In the July 1969 issue of *Beacon*, a magazine published in Hawaii, a colored photo of a woman's face in the midst of a volcanic eruption appeared. According to the editor's note, the photo was given to the magazine some months before by a person who had since left the islands. In a later issue of the magazine, several letters appeared from people offering identifications of the photo. One person (Payton 1969) claimed to have seen the picture while a student, and thought it had been taken by a "Mr. Stice." A second (Ahlf 1969) wrote that she had seen the same face in a painting at Volcano National Park. A third said the photo had been taken by Gary Stice, a professor of geophysics and oceanography at Leeward Community College, Oahu. "Dr. Stice is convinced that the picture is genuine, especially since he took the picture. However, he was certain that he did not, at the time he snapped the picture, see Madam Pele's face in the viewfinder" (Mattison 1969). The writer claims that Stice also saw a painting of Pele in Volcano House Museum and was impressed by the similarity to the image in the photograph he took. In a later issue of the magazine, the widow of a former employee of the Volcano Research Association identified the painting at Volcano House Museum, and claimed that "many of us saw faces in the fire" when she and her friends visited Volcano House (de Vis-Norton 1969).

In 1974 a *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* story claimed that "more than a few bewildered guests [at Volcano House] have seen the ethereal, cloud-like shape of a woman emerge from a large painting on the lobby wall." None, apparently, had a camera, since no photographs are mentioned.

Images are sometimes seen in lava flows. A Filipino engineer, residing on Hawaii, told me that he once took a photograph of a lava flow, and when it was developed a distinct face of a woman (whom he believed to be Pele) appeared in the lava, which he had not noticed when he took the photo. He claimed to have the photo at home, but circumstances did not allow our going to his home to see it (Nimmo 1976). A photo of a lava formation resembling a grotesque face appears in a 1979 issue of *Aloha* magazine. The photo caption reads: "Unique lava flow has sculp-

tured a view of Pele, Goddess of Volcanoes." The photograph is credited to Mathias Van Hesemans with no further explanation (Morrison 1979:65). In May 1982 a photo of an eruption appeared in the *Honolulu Advertiser*. A young woman from Waimanalo called the newspaper to point out that if the photo is turned on its side, the figure of Pele is evident "as a well formed young lady with her hair swirling out to the right." The photographer who took the picture did not notice the figure until it was brought to his attention (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1982). During the 1984 eruption of Mauna Loa, three photos of Pele's face in the volcanic smoke were produced (one taken in 1963) and published (*Hawaii Tribune-Herald* 1984a).

Some people claim that Pele sometimes appears as a fireball moving across the sky. "Before the 1950 eruption Kona people said they saw a thin greenish yellow ball of fire falling slowly into the forest" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1955). Mary Kawena Pukui told of an incident that occurred during her childhood:

As a young girl, she saw a ball of fire moving slowly from the vicinity of Kilauea Crater and rising up the side of giant Mauna Loa. Her older relatives and friends, who also witnessed the phenomenon, told her that it was Pele going to visit her other home in the crater of Moluaweoweo atop Mauna Loa. (Mullins 1977:32)

In April 1984 a fireball was seen traveling from Kilauea to Mauna Loa. At the time, eruptions were occurring in both places. A park ranger claimed that "traditional lore holds that Pele at times travels in her *po-poahi* or fireball form when she wants to assert her domain" (Takeuchi and Ten Bruggencate 1984).

Rituals and Ceremonies

Pele is real enough to many people in Hawaii to warrant special rituals and ceremonies in her honor. There is no longer a large organized cult of Pele with *heiaus*, priests, and priestesses as there appears to have been in pre-European Hawaii, but throughout this century individuals and small groups have ritually appeased and approached the goddess through various ceremonies and offerings.

Not surprisingly, much Pele worship is revived by Hawaiians during volcanic eruptions, especially when their homes are threatened by the lava flows. Maguire (1926) reports that in 1916 she saw an old Hawai-

ian woman make "all the customary rites for appeasing Pele's wrath" when a flow threatened to destroy her home. Part of those rites included a chant to Pele, which the author quotes and translates as:

*"E hoi e Pele i ke Kushiwi
I na ko lili ko inana."*

(Go back to your mountains O Pele
and there appease your jealousy and wrath.)

In 1925 Maguire saw descendants of the above-mentioned old woman conduct rituals to divert another lava flow that threatened their home. This time they placed two small red flags at the back boundaries of the house, threw sugarcane, sweet potatoes, *awa* root, and even money into the lava flow. Despite their efforts, however, their home was destroyed. The author saw the same flow destroy the village of Hoopuloa. As the lava approached, the villagers prepared "offerings of their choicest pigs, *awa* was brewed and prayers and incantations were chanted." In addition, the villagers decorated their graves with leis "for Pele to admire." Again the lava destroyed the homes. One old woman, however, was so convinced that Pele would not harm her that she had to be forcibly removed from her home minutes prior to its destruction by lava. A 1940 news story reports that a Chinese man was able to divert Pele's flow with an offering of *awa*:

One of the freaks of the eruption involves an aged Chinese *awa* root cultivator. As the lava coursed down the mountain-side, his small farm appeared to be directly in the path of the coming stream.

To protect his home, he resorted to Hawaiian tradition. Gathering up bundles of *awa* root, he proceeded to the face of the flow and made an offering to Pele, the volcano goddess.

The streams immediately made a detour, missing his home completely. And the old farmer made quite a business of selling hot coffee and food to spectators. The fact that there was a slight rise in the ground just above the old man's home was overlooked with fine disdain by believers in the potency of the offerings to Pele. (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1940)

Other rituals were performed to appease the goddess. Kosch (1934) recounts a ceremony to Pele he saw during an eruption in 1931. At

Halemaumau, "A hula dancer held sway for a short time on the crater's edge, and several sacred songs were sung by an old Hawaiian and his wife in an effort to please Pele." During a 1955 eruption at Kilauea, residents from the endangered village of Kapoho tried to divert Pele's flow by chanting at the edge of the lava and offering gifts of breadfruit, bananas, pork, and tobacco (Herbert and Bardossi 1968:35). A 1984 flow threatened the town of Hilo. With the cooperation of the mayor of the Big Island "a 'native Hawaiian cultural leader' and a group of followers went to the volcano to make offerings to Pele of red fish, young taro root and *awa* root" (Taylor 1984).

In 1925 an elaborate ceremony was held at the edge of Halemaumau, supposedly to attract Pele back to the volcano, which had shown no activity in over a year, but in all probability a project of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau to promote tourism in the islands, specifically in the volcano area. The ceremony is nonetheless worth recounting in some detail since it represents not only the largest such ceremony held for Pele in recent times, but also gives possible hints of the details of traditional Pele worship since a number of old Hawaiian priests and *kahunas* participated. To bolster participation in the ceremony, advertisements of its observance were published in various island newspapers, one of which reads as follows:

They will woo Pele—March 21st, just as it was done a hundred, two hundred years ago!

All the old colorful rites with which Hawaiians of old worshipped Pele, goddess of fire.

A corps of hula dancers will move to the slow and colorful rhythms of the old religious hulas now seldom seen. Drums and gourds, beaten by old men learned in the ancient measures, will be the only music.

Prayers taken from meles hundreds of years old, will be intoned by men who learned them from their fathers and grandfathers. It will be the remembered saga of an old and great race.

And why are these old rites revived after hundreds of years? To woo back Pele to her traditional home in the Kilauea Crater (Hawaii National Park), to petition her once more to wield her magic spade which, wherever it struck the earth, called out fire and molten lava.

The Hawaiians believe their offerings will bring the goddess back, that the lava again will flow. Perhaps—who knows—

their faith will be rewarded. For it has been said that mountains may be so moved.

It will be something great to remember. To miss it would be to deny oneself a profound experience. The *Haleakala* leaves Friday evening, March 20th. It will have you back in Honolulu early Monday morning. You will spend Saturday night at the Volcano House, near the crater. It will be more than a weekend. It will be an event! Make your reservations now." (Quoted in Sabin 1925)

Despite the obvious commercial overtones of the affair, the ceremony displayed various aspects of traditional Hawaiian religion. Although one might wish for a more anthropological interpretation of the events, Sabin's journalistic account appears to be the only one in print:

Darkness was near when the ceremonies were commenced. Participants approached the platform from two tents, one for the kahunas or priests and the other for the dancers and chanters. Emerging through the silently drifting steam in a weird procession,—spears, feather helmets, and kahilis or banners of feathers,—they presented a ghostly spectacle—a sort of miraculously cinematographed procession.

Ninety-year-old George Kalama led the Kahunas, white bearded and full of dignity and deep sincerity, though bent and very slow of movement.

And there was Mrs. Helen Desha Beamer, who had brought all these worshippers of Pele together for the ceremonies. Clad in a long robe of yellow, she wore red wreaths of leis about her head and shoulders.

All wearing garlands, dancers and chanters were colorfully garbed in yellow and red, some of the dancers gracefully swaying skirts of great green ti leaves. There was a chief of the old days in red and yellow feathered helmet and cloak. There were spearmen, and kahili bearers, and young men carrying torches made of kukui nuts bound up in the leaves of ti. . . .

* * *

The priests ascended the platform. . . . The wooing of Pele, for the return of Halemaumau's lava lake, was begun. The Reverend Kalaiwaa, a Christian pastor of Waimea, gave utterance to a brief prayer.

To be sure, a churchman of the Christian faith was assisting in the wooing of a pagan goddess! For that matter, probably all who joined in the ceremonies have their names in the church rolls of the islands. . . .

George Kalama, the aged kahuna—and, alas, he was clothed, like the Reverend Kalaiwaa, in the coat and trousers of our modern progress and culture—knelt on the platform and performed certain olden rites with various articles of mystery,—green branches, a bottle of white liquid, and several small packages of ti leaves. Whatever may have been the thoughts or convictions of those about him, spectators or performers, he was thoroughly engrossed in whatever he did or said. It was as if he were there alone with Pele, communing with the spirit of Creation. And his every word and gesture were as those of one who has many times celebrated such holy rites. Always he chanted as he prepared the bundle that held such offerings as he knew were acceptable to Hawaii's goddess of volcanoes.

This offering was ready to be cast into the darkening depths, when there came a sudden rumbling from the pit—an avalanche from the further wall.

Immediately the crowd quickened, startled. . . . For a few seconds—much less than half a minute—there was possibility of a panic, but Hawaiian guards called out that there was nothing to fear; . . . the word was quickly passed that the disturbance was but one of the frequent minor avalanches from Halemaumau's walls. . . .

When the kahuna, Kalama, had given the mysterious offering a final touch and blessing, Mrs. Beamer hurled it far out over the platform's rail. A root of awa followed the magic bundle. Then there were moments of waiting, spectators speaking in awed whispers.

Old Kalama peered into the pit as if watching for a sign, as if looking for a wink of lava in the far bottom, or a gush of the hot molt from a wall. Meanwhile his kahuna companions, Kalaiwaa of Waimea and Hoohie of Kau, chanted ancient meles.

And then great clouds of steam ascended from the black pit. But no fire!

Flowers were thrown to Pele, and her favorite chants were chanted.

There, at the edge of the steaming crater, in the swiftly falling darkness, two thousand people stood in silence, listening to the weird chanting, and watching the dancing of the hula girls.

Now the platform was crowded—too much so. Beautiful girls, each representing one of Hawaii's lei of lovely isles, gave unto Pele a wreath of flowers, of flowers sacred to her island. Each chanted as she approached the outer edge of the platform and gracefully threw her floral sacrifice to sulky Pele.

Madam Pele, in spite of sacrifices of pig and other dainties, ceremoniously bundled and properly prayed over, and in spite of chants and dances, gave no sign further than greater steam clouds and the chuckle of the small avalanche that set some of the hundreds jumping. She was not ready. (Sabin 1925)

In conclusion Sabin's article quotes a *Honolulu Advertiser* news story of the proceedings claiming that twice before, once "many years ago" and the second time three years prior to the event, the old kahuna, George Kalama had successfully conducted ceremonies at the edge of the crater, which resulted in calling Pele and causing the volcano to erupt (Sabin 1925).

This elaborate ceremony was apparently the first of several that have been centered around Pele to promote tourism for the islands. An event similar to the elaborate 1925 ceremony was held at Kilauea in 1928 as part of the Cook Susquicentennial celebration. A special stage was erected near the edge of the pit where dancers performed in honor of Pele while offerings of leis were tossed into the crater. Various small avalanches punctuated the ceremony, but apparently no further activities resulted (Apple and Apple 1978). A more recent example is reported in 1975. During Aloha Week, a period of special activities for tourists and local people in Hawaii, a ceremony was held at Halemaumau attended by various dignitaries. Dances and chants were performed for Pele while flowers and offerings wrapped in ti leaves were tossed into the crater for the goddess (Hughes 1975).

Other kinds of offerings have been made to Pele. A story in Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual* (1927), based on a newspaper account of the same flow that destroyed Hoopuloa described by Maguire (1926), mentions chickens, pigs, and money, as well as silk handkerchiefs, leis, chewing gum, sugarcane, leaf tobacco, taro roots, and sweet potatoes with vines attached. Some Hoopuloa residents claimed that Pele was angry because a pig intended for her sacrifice had been eaten at a feast by humans. Following "the Hawaiian belief" that the volcano would never strike a house in which a light was burning, a lantern was placed in each of the houses at Hoopuloa. A "Japanese woman" and a "number of white men" put quarters in the lava flow as offerings to Pele.

Franck (1937:28) describes the contents of a package, believed to be an offering to Pele, found on the rim of Halemaumau 1 June 1932. The package contained "a white dress—a *holoku*, . . . a huge pair of corsets, leis of *lehua* flowers, food wrapped in *ti* leaves, a *lauhala* mat wide enough for two sleepers, calabashes, and a bottle of—water!"

In an account of contemporary beliefs in Pele, Tyler (1939) tells of a group of young people returning to their hotel on the island of Hawaii at night. While driving along a crater road, an old woman suddenly appeared before the car. They could not avoid hitting the old woman, but when they got out they could find no sign of her. That night Halemaumau began to erupt. The driver of the car, a young Japanese woman, began to think that perhaps the woman they hit was Pele, and that she was erupting out of anger. So the next morning she went to Halemaumau and threw *ohelo* berries into the pit. By evening the eruption had subsided.

Fumiko Fujita (1946) recounts one of the few recorded cases of human bones offered to Pele. According to Beckwith (1940), this was a common practice among pre-Christian Hawaiians who believed themselves related to Pele. Such offerings were believed to insure an immortality in the volcano to the spirit of the deceased. According to Fujita's account, an old Hawaiian man gave the bones of an infant wrapped in paper to a tourist guide to throw into Kilauea crater. The same account mentions "silver dollars, white chickens, berries of the *ohelo* and strawberries, leis, pigs and fish" as suitable offerings to Pele. Still other offerings were made in a ceremony witnessed by a professor from the University of Hawaii during the 1926 Hoopuloa flow:

While sitting on the elevated edge of an old lava flow with two part-Hawaiian teachers, I saw half a dozen Hawaiians from the village cross to about the middle of the advancing front of the flow. They deposited a bottle of liquor, a can of tobacco, and a package of cigarette papers at the front of the flow which would soon bury these articles.

One of the group offered a prayer to Pele, a respectful request that she be patient and enjoy a drink and a smoke until the pig, which they were roasting in the village, should be properly roasted and ready to bring to her.

An hour or so later, the party of Hawaiians, now numbering a dozen or more, came back up the road carrying a pig. They again crossed to the front of the flow and deposited the pig where it would be further roasted by fresh lava. The pig was, of

course, the climax of the sacrifice to Pele. Both the parties conducted themselves with the greatest dignity, solemnity and sincerity. (Palmer 1951)

In 1952 Clarice B. Taylor reported that Hawaiians still conduct ceremonies of sacrifice and burial at the volcanoes in honor of Pele. According to her, some families living in the districts of Puna and Kau of Hawaii have priests who regularly conduct rituals to Pele. Some of these people still follow traditional burial practices whereby the body is placed in a burial cave until the flesh falls from the bones, at which time the bones are then taken to Kilauea volcano. Unfortunately, she does not reveal the source of her data.

The bundle of bones, wrapped in red and black, is carried at night to Kilauea.

A Priest of Pele stands at the edge of the pit, chanting. He tells the goddess of the one who is dead and makes suitable offering such as whiskey, chicken or pig.

Then he tosses the bundle into Pele's lava. If the bundle sinks, Pele has accepted one of her own. If not, it is tossed out of the pit with an explosion and one knows that the dead person was not a true member of the Pele family. (Taylor 1952)

Throughout his life, George Lycurgus, the manager of Volcano House, made offerings of gin to Pele. In 1952, shortly after Halemaumau began erupting, Lycurgus staged an elaborate homage to Pele on the rim of the fire pit. Many spectators and entertainers were invited, and at an appropriate, dramatic time, Lycurgus appeared on horseback. He "got off the horse and joined in the ceremony, tossing into the pit his *Ohelo* berries and bottle of gin" (Castro 1953:21). On his one hundredth birthday, Lycurgus again mentioned gin and *ohelo* berries as suitable offerings for Pele (McKenzie 1960).

Lycurgus' son, Nick, assumed management of Volcano House when his father became too old to handle the work. After the old man's death, his son continued the rituals to Pele. When asked in a newspaper interview if he gave credit to Pele for his success as a hotelman, he replied: "Indeed I do. . . . During an eruption we're always jammed. I give her a little gin. She's always welcome there" (Wall 1964). A newspaper story in 1968 also mentions the gin offering he occasionally made to Pele (Bryan 1968). Similarly, two hotels at Kona, Hawaii, give cases of gin to

Pele during her eruptions in order to "keep her happy" (Delaplane 1983).

When the spectacular 1959-1960 eruption began, which eventually destroyed the town of Kapoho, Hawaiian Airlines provided gin for Pele. At the beginning of the activities Nick Lycurgus, manager of Volcano House, threw a bottle of gin into the crater at Kilauea Iki to encourage more activity (Flanders 1984). However, as the flow continued and began to threaten Kapoho, attempts to stop the flow were made:

Police officers drove Naluahine, a 102-year-old resident of Kona, on the 3½ hour journey to Kapoho to make an appeal to Pele. With the aid of crutches, the old man reached the lava flow and recited a prayer. Then, folding two dollar bills reverently, he tossed them on the lava. According to witnesses, the flow divided around the bills. Although Naluahine continued to pray for three-quarters of an hour, the money failed to ignite. But when Naluahine said in Hawaiian, "I guess Pele is really angry and will not accept my offering," the bills caught fire. Naluahine seemed gratified and the residents relieved. (Flanders 1984)

The flow persisted, however, and eventually the town was destroyed. One resident evacuated everything from his house except a bottle of kerosene that he left for Pele (Flanders 1984).

In 1960, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reported that a Chinese-Hawaiian man sang a Chinese song as he tossed sacrifices of breadfruit, bananas, port, and tobacco wrapped in Christmas paper into a lava flow (Wall 1960). Several years later a newspaper photo shows a man identified as a national park historian throwing "ohelo berries into Pele's Halemaumau home . . . to encourage her to put on a good show for the thousands of park visitors" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1967).

In 1967 a young Hawaiian man told me that in a small town in Puna, a Hawaiian woman religiously made small offerings and sacrifices to Pele. When a nearby volcano erupted and lava descended on the town, all the houses were devoured except the faithful woman's home, which can still be seen standing to this day (Nimmo 1967).

Pele is increasingly included in holidays of contemporary Hawaii. A 1972 news story in the *Honolulu Advertiser* reports an accident suffered by the assistant manager of Volcano House on Mother's Day. The young man had strayed from a main path in the volcano area and fallen into

one of the many crevices that punctuate the area. The fall resulted in various broken bones, fractures, cuts, and bruises. An employee of Volcano House later told him that Pele was responsible for his fall because he had not offered her champagne on Mother's Day. The assistant manager reported:

He told me that the three days I shouldn't forget are New Year's, Christmas and Mother's Day. . . . All the Hawaiian people who worked for me and who lived in the area were really shook up. They called a Hawaiian minister to bless them, the Volcano House and me. (Quoted in Woo 1972)

A variant of the same story was told to me by a Caucasian female resident of Hawaii.

When the present manager of Volcano House assumed his job, he said he would not continue to give gin and other offerings to Pele as the previous managers had done. Shortly after his announcement, two of the waitresses at Volcano House were injured in an automobile accident on their way home from work. The manager went to visit them in the hospital, and as he stepped out of the hospital to have a smoke, he stepped into a fifteen foot crevice. The local people said that his accident, as well as that of the waitresses, was due to the fact that he had not made offerings to Pele. Subsequently, the manager revived the practice of making offerings to Pele. (Nimmo 1976)

Unlike the assistant manager, Al Pelayo, the manager of Volcano House, continued the tradition of offerings to Pele. He reported that after his arrival at Volcano House in November 1971, employees began to suggest that he make offerings to Pele. His new duties kept him busy, however, so it was not until February that he found time to make the offerings. Advised by his employees, he ordered a bottle of good gin, wrapped it in ti leaves, and lowered it into the crater. Within an hour there was a minor eruption that was interpreted as Pele's acknowledgement of the gin. Pelayo claims that he orders *maile* leis to present to Pele on Mother's Day, Christmas, and New Year's. He continues:

Some people in the community prepare puolos, packages containing ohelu [sic] berries (the fruit of Pele) and maybe some

other fruit. They wrap them up in ti leaves and give them to us to present in the ceremony.

We found out that we're supposed to share a drink with her [Pele], so we open the bottle of gin and take a sip and pass it around. Then we lower the bottle into the crater.

It's a revered thing. We feel her presence here. (Quoted in Fujii 1974)

In another interview Pelayo gave a different account of his encounters with Pele shortly after his arrival at his new job. During his first weeks at Volcano House, Pelayo was very busy and neglected to pay homage to Pele as he had been advised. One evening he was talking with the clerk at the front desk and suddenly

caught the strong, sweet scent of Maile, the vine used to make a lei for personages of high office. The scent permeated the hotel, and was noticed by other staff members. The clerk said: "She's coming to visit us, Mr. Pelayo."

"Who is?" he asked.

"You know," the clerk said, and smiled.

The following morning Pelayo wrapped "a bottle of fine Bombay gin" in ti leaves and, accompanied by three friends, took it to Halemaumau crater. As he stood at the edge of the pit and dropped in the gin, a cloud of steam enveloped him even though there were no steam vents in the area. That night alone in his house after going to bed, he heard a door slam. Thinking the wind had banged the back door, which had no lock, he propped a chair against it. He returned to bed and again heard a door slam. Again he got up and discovered the front door still locked and the back door still propped shut, but he felt a presence in the house. Finally, he said aloud: "Madame Pele, . . . if you are here, I welcome you. Please bless my house." After a split-second hesitation, he added, "Please bless Volcano House, too." Pelayo then returned to bed and slept without incident. The following day, an eruption occurred, which brought many guests to Volcano House. Pelayo continued to make offerings of gin, money, *ohelo* berries, or flowers to Pele. When asked if he believed in Pele, he replied, "There's something to it" (Stone 1977:73-75).

Mullins writes of the difficulties a television crew had because they did not make the proper offerings of *ohelo* berries to Pele:

In early 1974, a segment of the popular *Hawaii Five-O* television series was being filmed on the Big Island. During the filming crew's entire stay they were plagued by rains which delayed production. . . . Honolulu's newspapers implied that production personnel might have incurred Pele's displeasure by inadvertent actions. It seems that some crew members had eaten *ohelo* berries without first offering some to Pele, and had gathered up souvenir pieces of lava from a recent eruption flow. Either of these actions was enough to anger the goddess according to believers. (Mullins 1977:8)

A young Caucasian professor at the University of Hawaii told me of offerings she had made to Pele in 1975:

While in Berkeley working on her Ph.D. dissertation with tapes of Hawaiian children's stories, the informant sensed the presence of someone else in the room. When she returned to Hawaii to defend her dissertation, she told her advisor of her experience. The advisor suggested that the presence was Pele and that she wanted the voices of the children returned to Hawaii. Instead of returning the tapes, the informant decided to give offerings to Pele when she went to Kilauea two days later. She did so and apparently appeased Pele. Also, while there, she made offerings of dried fish to Pele to ask for success in her dissertation defense. She later successfully passed her defense. (Nimmo 1976)

A ceremony with a different twist was held at Kilauea crater on 30 December 1975. A small group of Christians met to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Queen Kapiolani's renunciation of Pele and "to recall the believed triumph of the Christian god over the heathen one." That same night, a long-dormant volcano erupted, the first time in historic times in that particular area (Apple and Apple 1975). In 1976, at the time of a persistent flow toward Hilo, Sammy Amalu suggested that "a couple of bottles of gin, a box of Havana's best, and maybe a sprig of old *ohelo* berries" would be suitable offerings for diverting the flow.

Several stories that I personally collected in Hawaii reveal a popular belief that Pele has developed a special taste for pork in recent years. In 1962 a Filipino man from Hilo told me that when driving the road between Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa one should not carry pork in the car. The pork attracts Pele who causes the car to malfunction until the

meat is thrown out to her (Nimmo 1962). As previously noted, the dog that has come to be associated with Pele has also developed a taste for pork (Nimmo 1976). In 1975 a Hawaiian man told me that when he was in high school, he and his friends were driving along the Pali road on Oahu with pork in their car. As they approached the summit the car stalled as a result of, he believed, Pele's interference. As soon as headlights from a car behind them appeared, the car started. According to the informant, if they had wrapped the pork in ti leaf, there would have been no problem (Nimmo 1976).

According to one writer, Pele does not like footprints in her volcanic sands. Consequently, it is best to walk on trails or smooth, hard lava while in the volcano area. The same writer claims that suitable offerings to the goddess are *ohelo* berries, money, gin, *kalua* pig, taro, breadfruit, or yams. Ideally, these gifts should be wrapped in ti leaves, but unwrapped gifts are also suitable (Apple and Apple 1977).

Apple claims that the *lehua* flower is not used by volcano area residents for leis, Christmas wreaths, or other purposes because it is traditionally believed to be associated with Pele and can be picked only with her permission or for offerings to her (Apple 1982a). Apple (1982d) also reports that a young Hawaiian man dressed in a white *malo* (loin cloth) was seen performing a ritual for Pele in the early morning at a steam vent in the volcano area:

Now properly dressed—and in bare feet—the Hawaiian approached the largest and densest vent. He chanted and gestured to the Hawaiian volcano goddess Pele. He addressed Pele in the water vapor.

To him, the steam took him close to the goddess, who makes her home in the Kilauea crater.

He may have left a *ho'okupu*, an offering, during his time at the vent. If so, it was not seen.

One of the first twentieth century accounts of a woman claiming special influence over Pele occurs in 1931 in a brief story in the *Honolulu Advertiser*.

Ancient rites in honor of Madame Pele, goddess of Kilauea, will be performed on the brink of Halemaumau this week by an aged Hawaiian sorceress, so she claims, to revive activity in the crater. . . . the aged woman says she is personally acquainted with the goddess and is almost one hundred years old.

. . . Later, when the volcano has erupted, the aged woman says she will ask Pele to stop the eruption.

No follow-up story describes the rites, if indeed they were ever conducted.

In recent years, Mrs. Leatrice Ballesteros of Waipahu on the island of Oahu has helped to keep Pele in the public eye. When eruptions occur, Mrs. Ballesteros goes to the Big Island dressed entirely in red to make offerings to Pele. One of the first accounts of Mrs. Ballesteros was written by Bob Krauss in 1965 when he saw her at an eruption:

Then I saw the Lady in Red.

She was leaning across the rail, talking to herself. I edged closer to listen.

"Up, up! Higher. Yes, higher," she said softly.

"Let us see how beautiful you are. Up, come up. Come up!"

This was Mrs. Leatrice Ballesteros, of Waipahu, Oahu, the woman who worships Pele, Hawaiian Goddess of the Volcano.

I had seen Mrs. Ballesteros at other eruptions but never under quite such dramatic circumstances.

She reached into a paper bag, clutching something in one hand, and threw it into the crater.

"What do you have in the sack?" I asked.

The Lady in Red looked up and recognized me with no particular pleasure. "I cannot tell you," she said. "These are my gifts to Pele. My gifts are a secret."

"I heard you talking to her. What did you say?"

"I asked her to come back so I could see her and she did."

By this time other volcano-watchers were crowding around to listen, some grinning, some serious.

One of them quipped: "So you caused this eruption?"

Mrs. Ballesteros nodded. Then she told this story:

Usually she catches the first Hawaiian Airlines plane to Hilo when the volcano erupts. This time she was not able to "on account of I had to wait for my son to get off work at the service station to take me to the airport."

She arrived with her gifts and another Pele disciple, William Rodrigues, also of Waipahu, at about 9 p.m., two hours and forty minutes after the eruption in Makaopuhi had gone dead.

"Madam Pele was *huhu* because I did not come right away," explained the Lady in Red.

To placate the sulking Fire Goddess, the Lady in Red began

an all-night prayer vigil beside the silent volcano. At 1 a.m., she said, she managed to bring about a little movement in the lava lake at the bottom of the crater.

But Pele still refused to come out of hiding.

While she was praying, Mrs. Ballesteros took time out to bless Mr. Rodrigues so that his shoulder, recently operated on, would heal rapidly.

The Lady in Red continued praying. But by mid-morning, she began to worry. She was to return to Oahu on a 2 p.m. flight.

"I went out and got some more gifts," she said. "Then I came back and asked Pele to forgive me because I could not come sooner. I told her the people all want to see her. I begged her to show her beauty again today. Finally, she did. (Krauss 1965)

A photo of a woman standing near a lava flow, dressed in a red muumuu with red shoes and a red purse, appears in Scott Stone's book *Volcano!!* The caption reads simply: "LADY IN RED making offerings to Pele at Alioi Crater" (Stone 1977:8). Possibly this is Mrs. Ballesteros.

In 1982 Mrs. Ballesteros was interviewed on the nationally televised program *Real People*. She said that Pele appeared before her during Aloha Week, an annual celebration of Hawaiian culture in the islands. She was wearing a white muumuu with lavender print and walked with a cane. She was old and had long white hair. Mrs. Ballesteros claimed that she was able to bring about some cures for various ailments through her contacts with Pele and, consequently, many people in Hawaii sought her services. A segment of the interview showed her at Kilauea offering a *maile* lei to Pele.

During a 1983 eruption, Mrs. Ballesteros, dressed in her red *holoku* with red flowers in her hair, offered a bottle of gin and *kalua* pig to Pele. She claimed the goddess was erupting because she was angry and hungry (*Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser* 1983). In 1984 a story in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* featured an interview with Mrs. Ballesteros (Dingeman 1984). According to the writer, for almost thirty-five years Mrs. Ballesteros has given offerings of gin and whiskey as well as Hawaiian and Japanese food to Pele. At the time of an eruption, she dresses in red and flies to the island of Hawaii where she hires a small plane to fly her over the lava flow. As the plane circles, she says prayers and makes offerings. Mrs. Ballesteros, seventy-six years old at the time of the interview, considers herself a healer: "I'm happy because maybe I serve God and Madame Pele."

Ballesteros said people come to her in Waipahu for help with headaches and other aches and pains. Often she finds they have taken something from the volcano area that they must return. After they return the stone or whatever they have taken, the pain disappears, she said.

She said she can sense when Pele is about to create an eruption. This time, she felt an itchy rash break out over her arms on Saturday night. By yesterday morning, she received official word of the eruption. (Dingeman 1984)

Mrs. Ballesteros says that sometimes Pele appears as an old woman and at other times as a beautiful young girl. She considers Pele her mother and claims the goddess has visited her home numerous times. She always leaves behind a damp towel in the shower room after she has made a visit. Mrs. Ballesteros claims that no matter how hard she tries, she is never able to look at Pele's feet. She has become somewhat of a local celebrity since her appearance on *Real People*, and recently has done television commercials for a local airline (Dingeman 1984).

Pele's Non-Traditional Roles

As noted in this paper, many of the traditional attributes and concerns of Pele have continued unbroken from her pre-European past, but the goddess has also assumed new functions in contemporary Hawaii, and has become involved in domains that were traditionally of no concern to her. Some of these new activities have been assigned to her by immigrant groups, such as the hitchhiking story, which apparently came to Hawaii from the mainland United States (Luomala 1972), while other activities were the concern of Hawaiian gods who disappeared with Christianity, but whose attributes and functions were transferred to Pele. But most of the new Pele stories appear unrelated to other traditions and reflect the creativity of contemporary Hawaiian culture, which has kept the Pele lore alive and growing.

A tragedy occurred in late 1935 that served to reinforce the traditional belief in Pele's power and anger. A lava flow was moving down the mountainside toward Hilo. Many attempts were made to divert it, since, if left uninterrupted, it would probably have reached Hilo. Finally, it was decided to bomb the flow in hopes of diverting it. Pele believers warned against it, fearing that it would only serve to anger the goddess to further destruction. Nonetheless, the plan was carried out. Planes from Oahu flew to Hawaii and successfully diverted the flow

with bombs. Pele watchers predicted revenge from the goddess even though she seemed to have been overpowered by the bombs. Less than a month later on Oahu, two planes collided in the air. Six men aboard who had participated in the bombing of the lava flow were killed; two who had not participated in the bombing were able to bail out to safety. The dead men's ashes were shipped to the Mainland, but when the ship arrived the ashes of one were missing. Pele believers attributed the deaths and the missing ashes to Pele's revenge (Mellen 1963).

Von Tempski (1937) tells a story set in the Kau District on the Big Island. A retired U.S. naval officer bought a parcel of land in Kau which he planted in beautiful gardens. The gardens prospered and seemed protected from Pele's lava, since each time an eruption occurred, no lava flowed onto them. When the gardens were completed, the retired officer decided to construct a more elegant home. During the course of excavation for the house, a stone idol of Kamapua'a, the Hawaiian pig-god and traditional rival of Pele, was found. Native workmen told the retired officer that the idol should be taken from the land and placed in a special temple, otherwise Pele would resent it and destroy it with lava. The old man dismissed the Hawaiians' concern as superstition that had no scientific basis, and placed the idol in a conspicuous place in his garden. Shortly thereafter, an eruption occurred, and part of the old man's land was inundated with lava. His workers told him it was because of the idol in his garden, but he became even more adamantly opposed to getting rid of it, stubbornly clinging to his contention that the belief was sheer nonsense and that the flow on his land was mere coincidence. Again an eruption occurred, and more of his land was covered by lava. This continued for several eruptions, each time more and more of his land being lost to the lava flows. Hawaiian workers, especially his foreman, continued to tell him he must get rid of the idol before all his land was taken by Pele. He continued his adamant refusal. Then a spectacular eruption began on the slopes of Mauna Loa. After a few days, it became evident that the flow was headed directly for the old man's house. His workers and neighbors pleaded with him to leave with them, but he would not. Only his foreman stayed with him. Finally, when it became evident that the old man was ready to die in the lava, the foreman left. The lava flow continued and to outside observers it seemed to have engulfed the old man's house. A few days later when the lava was hard enough to walk upon, the foreman and others walked to the old man's residence. They were surprised to find the house intact. Miraculously, the flow had divided some short distance above the man's home, gone around it, and rejoined beneath it, to leave the home and

gardens an island in the lava wastes. The old man was stubbornly sitting inside his house. He glared at the foreman when he came in. The foreman said: "I had no choice. To save your life, when I left, I took Kamapua'a's image with me and placed it in the Heiau!" The story draws upon the traditional enmity of Pele and Kamapua'a but its main message is that Pele cannot be dismissed as superstition. Many other stories told in Hawaii carry that same message.

The literature on Pele abounds with stories of her appearances before the volcanic eruptions, but in 1946, her prophetic appearance occurred before the tidal wave that took many lives and much property throughout the Hawaiian Islands that year. On Kauai, the island hardest hit, a Portuguese truck driver was driving along a rural road. He noticed a young schoolgirl hitchhiking. He stopped to pick her up, and she asked him to drop her off at a particular spot. As they were driving along, she told him that she knew him, but would not tell him her name. She added that she would tell him her name the next time she saw him. They approached a hairpin curve that demanded the driver's full attention for several minutes. When he again turned toward the young girl, he was amazed to find that she had disappeared from the cab. In retrospect, the driver believed her to be Pele appearing as a warning that the tidal wave was coming (Fern 1946; Hardy 1946). Many traditional and modern stories attribute earthquake activity to Pele, but this is one of the few accounts that associate her with tidal waves. In fact, traditionally, she regarded the sea as her enemy and avoided contact with it (Beckwith 1940).

In 1955 Dr. Dai Yen Chang recalled an incident with Pele that occurred in the winter of 1931. It, too, does not fit the traditional mold of Pele stories. Chang was on a hunting trip with friends on the island of Hawaii. After lunch one day the group split up and each hunted alone. While walking through a scrub forest area near Keamoku, Chang sat on a rock to rest. About seventy-five yards before him was a large pile of rocks which "started to wave gently like the swing of palms." He first thought of an earthquake, but only the rocks were moving and none of the surrounding area. He walked toward the rocks, and they stopped moving. Then another mound of rocks some distance away began to move. At this time, he began to think that Pele might be responsible so he said aloud: "If it is you, Madame Pele, I wish to pay my respects and humbly request that you reveal yourself. I have always tried to be good to your people." Again, when he walked to the pile of rocks, it stopped waving. He remained in the area for about a half hour waiting for something to happen, but when nothing did, he got in his car and started down the road to rejoin his friends. He heard the sound of a car

following him, but when he turned to look there was nothing behind him. When he arrived at the camp his friends were not there yet, so he decided to collect firewood for the night's fire. As he went about his job he could hear sounds of someone else doing the same sort of work, but he could see no one. After his friends joined him, there were no further incidents. His friends disbelieved his story, but when he told a Hawaiian woman of the incident about a year later, she told him that it certainly was Pele (Chang 1955).

In February of 1955 a bizarre incident on the Big Island caught the imagination of the press. A tourist and his wife were driving on the Saddle Road between Hilo and Kona. They stopped at one point to take photographs. They got back in the car, put it in neutral, and released the brakes, but the car began to roll backward up the incline. The man stopped the car by putting on the brake, but when he released it, the car again rolled uphill. Local people attributed the event to Pele, a warning that the volcanoes were about to erupt. The news story relates accounts of similar strange phenomena that happened prior to eruptions: "And a few weeks before the 1934 eruption Big Island drivers reported a rash of flat tires in out-of-the-way places. This was the time, too, that a Hawaii National Park Ranger fell into a deep hole in Kilauea crater and was rescued by an old lady" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1955). An enterprising reporter at the *Advertiser* decided to capitalize on the automobile that coasted uphill, and organized a group of people on Oahu to go to the Big Island and drive to the area to test the claim of the tourist couple. After much fanfare and several news stories, they arrived at the place, but to their disappointment their car refused to roll uphill.

In 1979, Pele acquired a namesake. Largely due to the influence of an astronomer at the University of Hawaii Institute for Astronomy, a newly discovered volcano on the planet Jupiter (and the largest known to science) was named after Pele (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1979; Kaser 1979).

Pele apparently does not welcome academic investigations into her personal affairs. A young Hawaiian man told me that a graduate student at the University of Hawaii started an M.A. thesis on Pele, but abandoned the project when all sorts of misfortunes began to occur. Within days after giving up the thesis topic, her life returned to normal (Nimmo 1983).

Some believe that an underground oven (*imu*) will not function properly without Pele's blessing. According to a beachboy on Maui,

An *imu* without Pele's blessing won't hold heat. A *haole* woman fresh from the mainland put an *imu* in her backyard. It

just wouldn't roast pig no matter how many hot rocks she put in it.

Sam Mia came over and put some flowers and gin in it. Talked to Pele. Now it cooks like a microwave. I'm telling you. (Quoted in Delaplane 1984)

Within the past few years Pele has grown in importance as goddess of the hula. She was always an important ingredient in the lore of the dance since her younger sister, Hiiaka, was believed to have danced the first hula. Although many of the traditional hula chants deal with Pele, the chief goddess of the hula in traditional Hawaii was Laka. Like most of the traditional deities of Hawaii, however, Laka has declined over the years while belief in Pele has grown. Today, many *halau* (hula schools) journey to the volcano area to perform rites and present offerings to Pele before important performances—especially before the Merrie Monarch hula contest held annually in Hilo. Jerry Hopkins describes one such event: "One by one *halau* walked across the lava in the first light of dawn, to dance on the lip of Pele's firepit. They made offerings of berries and bananas and gin. The dancers sought Pele's blessings that their steps in the contest be perfect, their hearts pure" (Hopkins 1982:125). Mapuana de Silva, whose *halau* won the Merrie Monarch contest in 1983, described ceremonies that her group held on the Big Island after winning:

At Puu Pua'i, the entire *halau* is together, even the *keiki*. Everybody performs—and they're all Pele's numbers. . . . And then finally we go to Halemaumau. Each weaves leis that they can give to (the goddess) Pele and Hiiaka, to the fire of inspiration, the spark that's within each of us. I go to the edge with selected people. And I offer what we have to give. (Quoted in Bowman 1984).

Throughout most of this century, the press has referred to Pele as "Madame Pele," a title of respect widely used in the islands. In recent years, however, the title "Tutu," an affectionate term usually translated as "grandmother," has been used by some writers (e.g. Apple and Apple 1980; Apple 1982b, 1982c; Lyerly 1983; *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser* 1983) in reference to Pele. Several people told me that the term is too familiar and endearing for Pele and does not have the formality and distance that the goddess demands (Nimmo 1983). Only time will tell whether or not the term becomes established as a suitable title for Pele.

In many ways Pele has become a more benevolent goddess in recent years. Many believers say she will not take human lives, but only warns them of their affront to her through her eruptions. This was not the case of Pele in the past. Many traditional stories tell of her destroying persons by pouring lava over them or turning them into pillars of lava rock. She became important to the great chief Kamehameha when one of her eruptions released poisonous gases and ashes that killed a portion of his enemy's army (Beckwith 1940). During this century, occasional deaths have been attributed to her—most noteworthy perhaps were the bombardiers who diverted her flow near Hilo in 1935—but only one documented death has occurred at the volcanoes. In 1924 a tourist visiting the volcano area during an eruption did not heed the warning to stay away from certain areas. During a violent explosion a large rock fell on him, killing him instantly (Gessler 1937:230).

The belief is growing in Hawaii that Pele brings misfortune to those who carry bits of her lava or sand away from the Hawaiian Islands as souvenirs. A 1974 news story reports that each day the Volcano House receives parcels from all over the world containing bits of lava and black sand, with notes requesting that the items be returned to Pele in the traditional manner (Fujii 1974). Three persons I talked to in Hawaii believed that misfortunes would occur to those taking Pele's materials. One claimed that lava could not be removed from the island of Hawaii without risk, while the others said it could be taken anywhere in the Hawaiian Islands, but not elsewhere. A Filipino man told me there were many cases of people dying or becoming ill because they took lava to the mainland United States, but the tourist industries have been successful in hushing up the stories because they were afraid it would harm their sales of the many souvenir items made of lava (Nimmo 1976).

In 1976, a package arrived in the Kona post office addressed to "The Mayor, Kona, Hawaii, U.S.A." with a California return address. On the back of the package were the instructions: "Return to Volcano Pele." Inside were nine pieces of lava wrapped in tissue paper (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1976). Two years later, a family from Buffalo, New York, suffered a series of misfortunes they attributed to taking lava rocks. They subsequently sent them back to Hawaii. When more bad luck followed, they discovered additional lava rocks they had overlooked; they immediately returned them in the hope that their luck would improve (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1978).

A driver reportedly stopped in the volcano area to pick up some lava rocks, which he placed in his car. When he returned to his car, it would not start. Only after he replaced the lava was he able to start his car and leave the area (Martin 1980). And as noted earlier, the film crew of

Hawaii Five-O pocketed small pieces of souvenir lava while on the Big Island; the heavy rains that halted filming for several days were, some believed, the result (Martin 1980).

People who take lava rocks from Haleakala on Maui also apparently suffer misfortune. "Supervisor Adele Fevella says she tells visitors [at Haleakala] Pele is protective of her rocks and bad luck will befall anyone taking a rock. Fevella says she receives rocks in the mail almost daily, sent back by individuals who took them. The rocks often are accompanied with notes telling stories of accidents or other ill happenings" (Tanji 1985). After a bout of bad luck an Oahu man returned by mail one of two rocks he had taken from the volcano area. The other rock had been taken to Alaska and lost by his son, which concerned him. A park ranger advised him to send an offering to Pele to be placed on a ledge near the volcano. The man sent the offering and the ranger placed it on a ledge for Pele (Nakao 1985).

Pele apparently does not mind if her fire is taken from the islands. In April 1964 a special torch called the "Eternal Flame of Pele" was lighted at a volcano on Hawaii, blessed by Rev. Kaipo Kuamoo, and given to a young Hawaiian man to take to New York City, where it was to burn for the two years of Hawaii's participation in the World's Fair. Apparently all went well—at least no further mention of the incident was made in the media (*Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser* 1964).

Hawaiian tradition has always maintained that Pele needs no special reason for occasionally erupting lava from her crater home, although invariably tradition and contemporary imagination provide such reasons. A recurring explanation for Pele's eruptions in recent years is the probing by scientists and other newcomers into her volcanoes. In addition, some of the changes in modern Hawaii have allegedly upset Pele and caused her to overflow.

Benyas reports that in 1926 an explanation for a recent, violent eruption at Kilauea was that Pele was angry at the probing made by volcanologists to measure the temperature of the volcano (Benyas 1927). More recent accounts also reveal local belief that Pele does not like scientific probing of her domain. In a story discussing proposals to tap the energy of Hawaii's volcanoes for electrical power, the staid *Wall Street Journal* noted the local belief that Pele does not want scientific tampering in her environs and will react with eruptions if so disturbed. A geologist is quoted saying "Maybe they're right" (Immel 1975).

In 1976 Sammy Amalu cautioned against plans to divert lava flows from Hilo with the use of explosives. He claimed that such attempts

would only anger Pele and perhaps cause her to do even greater damage. Besides, he maintained, Hilo is "traditionally under her divine protection" (Amalu 1976). In October 1977 a lava flow threatened the village of Kalapana. Suggestions to divert the flow by explosives were rejected by the "chief scientist at the observatory atop Kilauea" because of Hawaiian sentiment. He is quoted as saying, "They feel Madame Pele, the goddess of the volcano, will do what she will do, and you offend her by trying to get around it" (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1977). In 1978, at a hearing held on Hawaii regarding a proposed lava control study, several speakers representing the local population voiced the sentiment that there was no way modern technology could hope to control Pele. One speaker said: "If Pele is gonna come, she come. But if you have done nothing wrong, there is nothing to be afraid of" (Clark 1978).

Recent plans to tap the volcano area for geothermal energy have brought outcries from several different factions in Hawaii, one being the Pele believers. The general feeling is that such probing is a sacrilege to Pele and she will respond with anger and destruction. Not coincidentally, say believers, volcanic eruptions occurred in early 1984 in those areas where geothermal drilling was planned (Nimmo 1984; Frederick 1984). A 1983 letter to the *Honolulu Advertiser* claims that recent volcanic eruptions were Pele's reactions to plans for developing geothermal energy (Belsky 1983a, 1983b). Another letter to the same paper maintains that the two accidents associated with the project, as well as a "harmful sulfur cloud" are evidence of Pele's displeasure (Lyerly 1983). A 1984 letter by the same writer in opposition to the project concludes, "Look whoever you are, lay off Tutu Pele!" (Lyerly 1984).

Contrary to general belief, a Caucasian man told me that one of the engineers involved in the project had told him that the eruptions were a sign of approval from Pele (Nimmo 1983). Still another view was offered by Amalu, who felt that project directors need not fear any wrath from Pele if they made proper offerings of gin, tobacco, and *ohelo* berries, since the lands are owned by the estates of Hawaiian families who are direct descendants of Pele (Amalu 1983). This view echoes the belief that Pele does not harm her own people.

A story about a hearing on the Big Island to discuss the possibility of establishing a geothermal project near Hawaii Volcanoes National Park appeared in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in April 1984. The attorney for the community association opposed to the project said: "Pele will have the last word. She will be our final witness" (Whitten 1984).

Pele sometimes reacts to intrusions on her territory by *not* erupting.

In the 1940s two pit toilets were placed on land that some local people claimed was sacred to Pele. A Hawaiian man maintained that Pele had not erupted because she was angry that her land had been desecrated by the toilets (Castro 1953:64).

Among the local explanations offered for Pele's rampage in 1959 were that she was angry because Hawaii had been granted statehood and "because her land is being covered with ugly cement and skyscrapers" (Taylor 1960a). Others claimed she was angry because flower growers on the Big Island were concentrating on the cultivation of orchids to the exclusion of *lehua*, the flower traditionally associated with Pele. Accordingly, she destroyed the orchid fields so that *lehua* could grow from the lava she deposited (Taylor 1960b). The persistence of a 1960 flow was explained by the fact that workers had tried to divert Pele's flow by earthen dams, and she had to remind them that she was not to be intimidated by such attempts (Engledow 1960).

Hawaii's volcano goddess has her own club, established by an admirer from San Francisco. In 1922 C. C. Moore, head of a San Francisco engineering company, visited Hawaii and toured the volcano area. During a speech to the Honolulu Ad Club, he was very enthusiastic about Kilauea Volcano and said that "a great opportunity for publicity was being neglected by failure to provide the visitor with a certificate, signed by a guide or some official, which could be carried home and shown to friends" (Mellen 1925). He suggested that an organization called "Order of Kilauea" be established, whose members would be all those with such certificates. To get the project started, he subscribed one hundred dollars for organizational costs. The Honolulu Ad Club was receptive to the suggestion and established a committee to pursue the project. In 1923 Pele's fan club was established. The name decided upon was "Hui o Pele Hawaii," and a special membership certificate with the seal of Pele was designed. Two hundred charter memberships were sold at ten dollars each, and subsequent memberships were sold at one dollar. Of the two hundred charter memberships, ten were set aside for persons influential in establishing the organization or somehow importantly involved with the volcano.

Membership is granted only to one who has actually gazed into the pit called Halemaumau and made an offering to Pele. . . . Privilege of affiliation is extended, however, to include those who can establish proof of a visit prior to the formation of the *Hui*. (Mellen 1925)

The certificate indicates that an individual of a particular address

having visited the Volcano Kilauea, in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park on the Island of Hawaii, Hawaiian Islands, Territory of the United States of America, and having made offerings acceptable to Pele, Goddess of Volcanoes, at her fiery palace Halemaumau, which is called House of Everlasting Fire, is entitled to full active life membership in the Hui o Pele Hawaii, and is hereby granted all rights, privileges and benefits appertaining thereto. In testimony thereof we have caused the seal of our Realm to be affixed. (Quoted in Mellen 1925).

The seal of the organization is in the lower left-hand corner of the certificate, and it is "signed" in fire by Pele. After statehood the certificate was rewritten to bring that portion of the certificate up to date. Also, instead of "having made offerings acceptable to Pele" the certificate now reads "having seen from land, air or sea the manifestations of the power of Pele, Goddess of Volcanoes, such as live lava flows or her fiery palace" (Hui o Pele Hawaii 1975).

In 1925 membership in the organization had reached 1,024 (Mellen 1925). By 30 January 1929 the ranks had grown to 7,000, and excess funds had been used to make various improvements throughout the volcano park area (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1929). In 1951 Hui o Pele Hawaii administration was transferred to the Hawaii Visitors' Bureau. Membership had grown to "approximately thirty-five thousand members" and the organization had spent "over \$30,000 to the improvement and development of public conveniences in the Hawaii National Park" (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1951). Castro reported in 1953 that membership numbered "close to 40,000." Although I do not have access to current membership figures, they must be well in the hundred thousands, if not millions.

In 1934 Pele became the only female member of the Lions Club. The Lions were holding a meeting at Kona to celebrate the granting of charters for clubs in Kona and Hamakua. While members were singing a club song, an earthquake was felt. "Immediately a motion was made to extend membership to her [Pele]. It was approved" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1934c).

In pre-European Hawaii, families who lived in the volcano districts of Hawaii, especially Kau and Puna, traced their ancestry to Pele. Rit-

uals were periodically conducted for her at her own *heiau*, and the bones of the deceased were sometimes thrown into the volcano pits in the belief that the spirit would reside there eternally with Pele and her entourage. To these families Pele was a deity to be appeased and who would, in return, protect them. Families living beyond the areas of volcanic activity were much less concerned with Pele. They had their own deities to worship, and although they doubtlessly knew much of the Pele lore and worshiped the goddess when she threatened their lands, she was not an important object of ritual concern. The Hawaiian people of the volcano areas of Hawaii have continued their close affinity to Pele. However, as a deity, she has become important to Hawaiians throughout the islands. Accompanying Pele's spread throughout the Hawaiian population is the belief that Pele will not harm Hawaiians, that she looks after her own people if they look after her.

In 1926 many Hawaiian residents of the village of Hoopuloa refused to leave as the lava approached their homes since they had made the proper sacrifices to Pele and believed Pele would not harm them. As the village homes began to go up in flames the diehard believers finally left, disappointed and bewildered that Pele had taken the homes of her people (Coll 1926; Maguire 1926; Thrum 1927). Benyas (1927) recounts a belief among Hawaiians that Pele will cure those Hawaiians who are faithful to her. A Hawaiian man told of his lame sister being cured after presenting charms to Pele at the brink of one of her craters. Von Tempski (1937) tells of an old man whose land seemed immune to Pele's ravages. Local belief held that Pele did not bother him because of his many kindnesses to the Hawaiian people. Franck notes that Pele always knows her own people and never harms them (1937). During a 1950 eruption residents of Kona claimed that Pele was angry because the City of Refuge at Honaunau, a pre-European temple complex, was being transferred from local hands to federal park authority. Pele was angry because the park belonged to her people, the Hawaiians (Rothwell 1950). As previously noted, when a Chinese man sensed the presence of Pele during a hunting trip in Hawaii, he said: "If it is you, Madame Pele, I wish to pay my respects and humbly request that you reveal yourself. I have always tried to be good to your people" (Chang 1955). He was voicing the belief that if you are good to Hawaiians, Pele will regard you favorably.

In 1955 a letter appeared in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* suggesting that Pele was currently erupting because of a proposal to sell lands of the Bishop Estate. The Bishop lands had been left by Bernice Pauahi Bishop in a trust to be used for the education of Hawaiian youth. The

letter writer claimed that Mrs. Bishop was a member of the Kamehameha family who had the special protection of Pele; Pele was angry that lands intended for Hawaiians' benefits were going to be sold (Irwin 1955). Lincoln (1959) claims that Pele appears only before "real Hawaiians" and that non-Hawaiians who say they have seen her should not be believed. Similarly, a 1965 news story claims that only persons of Hawaiian descent can see Pele (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1965). During a 1960 eruption, local people suggested that Pele destroyed Warm Springs, a beautiful pool, because it had not been properly used. "An eruption created the pool years ago, and, according to this legend, Pele ruled it should always be reserved for Hawaiians. Its use by everyone as a tourist attraction antagonized her and she took it back" (Engledow 1960).

Mellen (1963) reports that Pele is not always bent on destruction—especially toward Hawaiians. "Many Hawaiians report her assistance in times of stress. 'Even when she seems to be cruel, she is on our side,' say the old folks. She is their secret weapon. By means entirely satisfactory to themselves, her actions, both good and bad, can be so interpreted."

In the spring of 1968 an elderly Hawaiian woman called a radio talk show in Honolulu to tell how Pele once saved Hawaiians at South Point on the island of Hawaii. Some years ago a lava flow was headed toward South Point. Authorities told the Hawaiian people to leave the area because their lives were endangered. Instead, the Hawaiians put up signs telling Pele they were Hawaiian, her own people. Pele saw the signs and sent the flow around the community, leaving the Hawaiians unharmed (Nimmo 1968).

As noted earlier, Amalu claimed that Pele would not interfere with drilling for geothermal energy on the Big Island since the lands where the drilling would occur are owned by Hawaiian families who are direct descendants of the goddess (Amalu 1983).

Two residents of the Big Island swore on a notarized document that they had encountered "a beautiful woman on an isolated stretch of Saddle Road" "dressed in a green mu'umu'u with a red and white Ohia blossom over each ear." She told them that the eruptions were a warning that no one should try to hurt her people. She accepted hot coffee from them and told them that they would see an *akualele* (an omen, usually of misfortune) over the volcano that night. Then "quick as you can blink, she completely vanished." That night, shortly after midnight, an *akualele* appeared in the form of a fireball over the volcano (Frederick 1984).

Pele's benevolent protection is also occasionally extended to non-

Hawaiians, as evidenced by this story told to me by a young Caucasian woman:

Two young Caucasian women were hitch-hiking on Hawaii. They were picked up by a man and an old woman—both Hawaiians. Neither spoke as they drove through the night. Finally, the old woman told them that when they got out of the car, they should not accept a ride with two Hawaiian men in a pick-up truck. If they did so, they would be harmed. The old woman gave the young women her address in Kona in case they needed help. The young women got out and the Hawaiian couple drove on. Soon a pick-up truck came along and stopped to offer them a ride. In the truck were two sinister-looking Hawaiian men. The young women remembered the old woman's warning and refused the ride. The truck drove on. A few days later, the young women decided to look up the old woman at the address she gave them. They went to the village where the old woman was supposed to live, but could find nothing but an open field where the house should have been. A neighbor said she had never known any house to be located on the site. The young women assumed the old woman to be Pele. (Nimmo 1975)

Another story of Pele's benevolence is related by Russ Apple (1982c), although the ethnicity of the participants is not noted. In 1961 a woman who recently moved to Volcano on the Big Island was nervous about earthquakes and eruptions. One night she and her daughter awakened and noticed a "red fog" surrounding their house. They went downstairs and when they opened the front door the fog disappeared. "This was Pele's way of reassuring a nervous Volcano resident. The mother interpreted the experience as both a reassurance and a prediction of an eruption which would not harm her or her household." Two weeks later there was an eruption but no harm came to the household.

Pele has also revealed her concerns about political and economic problems in Hawaii. In 1960 the goddess appeared before Alice Kamokila Campbell and gave a well intended message to all the people of Hawaii. The message reported in a news story was "in part":

Affairs of state are in such a tangled mess that governmental organizations and departments must begin from new roots with less talk and more constructive action.

Finances in business, investment, property, food and transportation will prove costly and as a result great losses will occur. Those with cash during this period should hold firmly to their resources.

After making other similar observations and suggestions, for example too many valuable lands were going to waste and basic industries had to be preserved, Pele concluded: "Now that we are at the crisis of our destiny, are we to fall into oblivion?" (Quoted in *Honolulu Advertiser* 1960).

Stories on the Big Island in April of 1984 claimed that Pele was erupting to wipe out the "dope-growing" on the island; that she resented her name being used in "Operation Pele"—the federal-state-county operation to discourage use of the mail system for shipping out marijuana; and that she was "angry at our greed and punishing us for defacing the island" (Donham 1984).

Pele has found new expressions in the arts of contemporary Hawaii. Throughout this century the moods of the volcanoes and the goddess who resides within them have been interpreted by painters, poets, and other writers. The quality of these artistic endeavors varies widely, but none are truly outstanding and none rival the lovely lyrics found in some of the traditional *meles* about the goddess.

Probably the most famous poem written about Pele is the one by Alfred Tennyson, published in 1893. The poem, entitled "Kapiolani," was inspired by Kapiolani's visit to Kilauea and her rejection of Pele in the name of the Christian god. The poem is not one of Tennyson's better poems, but because of the poet's fame it is probably the best known of those about the volcano goddess. A poem by Sanford B. Dole, "An Appeal to Pele," is only sixteen lines and praises the beauty of the islands Pele has created, and asks why she continues to create more when the work she has done is so beautiful (Dole 1928). "Madame Pele's Return," a thirty-three line poem by George Ferreira, is an amateurish expression of the poet's delight in having Pele back in Halemaumau after a long absence of activity in the crater (Ferreira 1931). In 1949 a lyrical letter in praise of Pele was published in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. The poetic letter, written by a "comparative newcomer to Hawaii," supposedly reflects the attitude toward Pele of an eighty-year-old Hawaiian woman, one Maka Woolsey. The letter states that the woman is not frightened by Pele's eruptions and earthquakes, but rather acknowledges them as Pele's presence and power. She has always been devoted

to Pele, and always will be (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1949). An unsigned and untitled poem appears in an article by Mellen in 1962. Although the poem does not specifically mention Pele, it is quoted in the context of an article about Pele. The twelve line poem states that although "the gods of old Hawaii" are no longer evident, their presence can be sensed—they are not dead, they are but sleeping" (Mellen 1962). Jazz Belknap prefaced an article about Pele with an eight-line poem. The poem is simply a description of Pele: "a crimson hibiscus in her glossy black hair; tempestuous and fiery; eyes aflare." The article deals with the author's personal experiences during a volcanic eruption (Belknap 1967b). Two haiku, appearing in the "Hawaii Haiku" column of the *Honolulu Advertiser* in 1985, found inspiration from Pele:

Madame Pele stirs
Fountain of fire sings old song,
"Smoke Gets in Your Eyes." (Kish 1985)

Pele walks the roads.
She is seen only at night
And always alone. (Stroud 1985)

Countless paintings, sketches, and statues of Pele have been made. Probably the best known painting is the one that hangs in the Volcano House Museum, an oil painting of the goddess in the fire painted by Howard Hitchcock. Various murals throughout Hawaii depict the goddess. Hundreds of unsigned sketches have been made to accompany stories or items for the tourist industry. Some of the better depictions of Pele are probably those of Madge Tennet, a well-known painter of Hawaii.

The cover of the 1970 March issue of *Honolulu Magazine* features a portrait of Pele painted by Terry Metz, a local artist, several of whose paintings are inspired by Pele and her volcanic domain (*Honolulu Magazine* 1970). Volcano Art Center on the Big Island displayed nine paintings called the "Pele Series" by Gail Ka'uhane in April of 1984. The paintings were described as honoring "Pele in her basic forms, that of a young woman, an ancient crone, a white dog and as fire itself" (*Hawaii Tribune-Herald* 1984b).

The carved face of Pele over the fireplace at Volcano House is probably the best known statue of the goddess. Dozens of depictions of Pele formed in plaster of paris or hewn from lava rocks are found in the tourist shops of Hawaii. In all mediums, she is either depicted as an ethereal

real, beautiful young woman, or a withered, bent crone—her traditional guises.

Pele has not only inspired poets, painters, and sculptors over the years, but has also been the subject of short stories and plays. For the most part, the short stories are loose reinterpretations of traditional legends (e.g. Underhill 1926; Taylor 1929). An exception is a fictional account set in traditional Hawaii of a young Hawaiian man's visit to Pele as part of his initiation into manhood (Dygart 1978). Most of the plays are also reinterpretations of legends, such as those by Andrew Westervelt (1926) and Jean Charlot (1963). Pageants have periodically been staged in Hawaii based on the traditional legend of Pele, Hiiaka, and Lohiau (e.g. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1964). In addition Hollywood, in its more naive years, borrowed aspects of the Pele legend for some of its South Seas movies about lovely native maidens and volcanoes. Most notable perhaps is *Bird of Paradise*, made in 1932. Pele also appears in James Michener's best-selling novel *Hawaii* (1959). One artist in Honolulu, however, feels that Pele is too sensitive a subject to deal with artistically. A Caucasian puppeteer who has lived in the islands some twenty years told me that she feels that many local people are too fearful of possible sacrilege to the goddess for her to use the Pele legends in her children's puppet theater (Nimmo 1983).

The lively recording industry in Hawaii has recorded Pele in her various aspects. Some recordings are retellings of the ancient legends of Hawaii (e.g. Kamokila, n.d.), some are ancient chants about the deity, and some are newly inspired songs about the woman of the volcanoes set to contemporary music (e.g. Cazimero 1979).

In 1960 a souvenir company introduced a line of candles fashioned in the image of Pele. Apparently the makers were concerned about offending the goddess for they called in "David K. Bray, Sr., Hawaiian priest . . . [to give] his blessing to the venture, and the enterprise was dedicated by the Reverend Ella Wyse Harrison" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1960).

Pele has inspired other artistic expressions throughout the islands. Local political cartoonists occasionally find her relevant. For example, a cartoon appeared on the editorial page of the *Honolulu Advertiser* in April 1984 depicting Pele holding an Oscar. At the base of the Oscar are the words "To Madam Pele for Special Effects." The preceding year had been one of much volcanic activity on the Big Island (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1984). Menus throughout the islands feature various cocktails named after the volcanic goddess, with editorial promises of exotic volcanic and tropical delights to the imbiber. Artists invited to decorate the walls

of construction sites in Honolulu sometimes offer their interpretation of Pele. Pele's name sometimes appears in graffiti on public walls, such as one in a men's restroom at Volcano House: "I can get a really hot wahine for you—her name is Pele!" (Nimmo 1976). Souvenir shops, catering to Hawaii's tourist traffic, feature Pele momentos including earrings, statuettes, paintings, posters, stationery, postcards, ash trays, muddlers, dishes, napkins, and charm bracelets.

Conclusion

The range and variety of the Pele legend in contemporary Hawaii is great. The goddess may appear as a beautiful young woman, an ugly old hag, or a white dog. She may be a face in the volcanic flames, a hitchhiker on the road, a visitor to your home, or a chance encounter on a walk. She is sometimes vindictive, sometimes jealous, sometimes helpful, sometimes protective (especially if you are Hawaiian), and sometimes resentful of probings by Western technology. *Ohelo* berries make a proper offering to her, as do gin, tobacco, roast pig, *lehua* flowers, and money.

Pele is a significant ingredient in the culture of the contemporary Hawaiian Islands. Belief in the volcano goddess is widely held by a broad stratum of society—doctors, professors, scientists, writers, housewives, engineers, hotel managers, and countless others. Children in Hawaii are weaned on Pele stories and throughout their lives they hear of encounters with the goddess, see evidence of her wrath on the Big Island, and observe her periodic portrayal in island arts. One question inevitably intrudes into a discussion of the popularity of the volcano goddess: Why does Pele have such wide appeal to the people of Hawaii? I offer some of my own thoughts on the persistent appeal of the volcano goddess.

It is important to emphasize that the traditional belief in Pele as goddess of the volcanoes and special deity to Hawaiians in the volcano area is unbroken from the past. Some Hawaiians in Hawaii still worship her and respect her much as their ancestors did in pre-European Hawaii. Their present concern with Pele is the continuation of an ancient religious tradition.

A revitalization of traditional culture has occurred among the Hawaiians in recent years, as among many other ethnic minorities in the United States. Hawaiians, young and old, have looked to their past with new interest and new respect, attempting to recapture aspects of their culture lost to Westernization. They question the wisdom of their elders

in abandoning the old ways and accepting the customs of the various immigrant groups to Hawaii. One result has been a renewed interest in Hawaiian supernaturalism, a new look at certain supernatural claims or spirit-sightings. And, in this context, a new look at Pele as a goddess and protectress of the Hawaiian people.

Throughout the United States, beginning in the 1960s, an interest in the occult and realms traditionally called "supernatural" has occurred. At the popular level it is manifested in the growing interest in astrology, Eastern schools of mysticism, the popularity of movies and television programs dealing with possession, witchcraft, and the occult. Professionals also have examined claims of "supernaturalism" through the more sober tools of their trade. Notable in anthropology are the controversial and popular writings of Carlos Castaneda, who has suggested that other levels of reality may be experienced if one has the cultural tools to do so (Castaneda 1968). This recent attitude toward and interest in the supernatural throughout the general United States has doubtless contributed to some of the present interest in Pele as deity of the volcanoes of Hawaii.

The volcanoes themselves cannot be overemphasized as important contributors to the belief in Pele. A volcanic eruption is one of the most powerful, spectacular displays of the forces of nature. And, although volcanologists have discovered the basic factors that cause volcanic eruptions, to the lay observer a volcanic eruption is still a terribly awesome event, somehow supernatural in its power and beauty. Even the dormant craters of Hawaii, oozing sulphuric-smelling steam and usually enshrouded by mists and fogs, seem of another reality. The ever-smoldering presence of the volcanoes and their periodic earthquakes and eruptions never fail to impress the visitor. Small wonder that many have called upon supernatural forces, such as Pele, to explain the wonders of volcanoes.

During the past century, the Hawaiian media has played an important role in keeping the Pele stories alive. In a very real sense, the press has become the storyteller of traditional Hawaiian tales. Periodically newspapers and magazines reprint stories from traditional Hawaiian mythology, and the most popular of these are the stories of Pele. As noted in the introduction, a discussion of these traditional Pele stories is beyond the scope of this paper, but their periodic appearance in the local press is doubtless important in perpetuating belief and interest in Pele. Pele-sightings before or during volcanic eruptions make good reading, and the press seemingly scours the islands at such times to find someone who has seen Pele, or even talked to the goddess. Stories of Pele

help sell newspapers and magazines, and therefore are peddled by the media to an interested public.

The tourist industry in Hawaii has obviously been an important factor in popularizing Pele, as well as other aspects of traditional Hawaiian culture. Beginning with the elaborate ceremony at Halemaumau in 1925 and the creation of the Hui o Pele Hawaii, down to the present posters, booklets, and souvenir trinkets of the goddess, Pele has been an important ingredient in the Hawaiiana peddled to visitors to the islands. A volcano goddess and sacrifices to her are the sort of exotic lore that tourists expect on a tropical holiday, and the Hawaii Visitors Bureau does not disappoint them.

Immigrant groups to Hawaii have been receptive to the Pele stories. As noted by Katharine Luomala (1972), people from the mainland United States and from Japan have added to the Pele lore. The rich folk traditions of the Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, and other immigrants to Hawaii have proven receptive to the Pele tales, and the goddess is an important character in the oral traditions of these Hawaiian subcultures. They, too, perpetuate the deity.

Intensity of belief in Pele varies a great deal in Hawaii. Some disbelievers scoff at the stories, while others smile indulgently when they hear or read of someone having seen or talked to Pele. Many accept a more agnostic position, neither believing nor disbelieving, waiting to hear more about the goddess. For many, especially newcomers to the islands, it has become fashionable to express belief in Pele and to know someone who has had a supernatural encounter with the woman of the volcano. For others Pele is a fact of life—as are the tides, the volcanoes, the sun, the moon, and the stars. And for still others, Pele is an ancient deity who was worshiped by ancestors and who is still periodically approached and appeased.

But whatever the belief, Pele is a very real component of contemporary Hawaiian culture, and is likely to remain so for some time. As long as people are around to watch the Hawaiian volcanoes erupt, and perhaps long after they cease to erupt, stories of Pele will offer alternatives and elaborations to the explanations of volcanology.

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REVIEWS

Eduard Hernsheim, *South Sea Merchant*, edited and translated by Peter Sack and Dymphna Clark. Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1983. Pp. xi, 230, maps, illustrations, index. K7.00.

Reviewed by Doug Munro, Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, Toowoomba, Queensland

Eduard Hernsheim (1841-1917) was no ordinary South Sea trader. In the words of his biographer, he was "notable as one of the few speculative traders in any period of the Pacific whose commercial adventure paid off as he hoped when he first ventured there" (S. Firth, "Captain Hernsheim: Pacific Venturer, Merchant Prince," p. 115, in *More Pacific Islands Portraits*, Canberra, 1978). He was also unusual among traders in that he penned his memoirs. *South Sea Merchant* brings together a variety of Hernsheim's writings concerning his trading days. First is his *Lebenserinnerungen* (Reminiscences), which he wrote after returning to Germany in 1892 to live off the profits of his enterprises. This is followed by extracts from his extant Diaries which, the editors explain, were chosen to illuminate his personality and to "illustrate the routine of the island trade in the 1880s." The final section contains the English translation of three Hernsheim pamphlets on German colonization in Melanesia.

With this compilation of Hernsheim's writings now in print, a valuable selection has become readily available to a wider audience. Unlike some memoirs, Hernsheim's are revealing of the man himself. From an early age he showed himself to be independently minded and possessed

of a sense of adventure and that spark of initiative that held him in good stead in later life. Whereas many traders cherished the illusion of sturdy self-reliance, this was more in the realm of reality in Hernsheim's case. With this "resolute manner," as he called it, went a sound business sense that had much to do with his eventual success. The other valuable feature of his *Reminiscences* and *Diaries* concerns the quality of the information it contains on numerous aspects of Pacific trading both afloat and ashore. Hernsheim was active in one marginal trading area (Micronesia, including the Gilbert Islands) and a major trading area (the Bismarck Archipelago). He saw many sides of the business and writes both from the perspective of a seafaring trader in the throes of establishing a far-flung trading network and that of a more settled head-station proprietor.

Thus we get brief, though pertinent, glimpses of a range of locales and situations that contribute quite significantly to our sketchy knowledge of nineteenth-century Pacific trade. In a field where sources are often thin on the ground, it is impossible to ignore Hernsheim's writings, if only to provide that telling anecdote or quote to clinch the point being made. The issues touched on by Hernsheim include the problems of ill-health, the vagaries of copra prices, the encouragement of smoking schools among New Guineans to stimulate a barter trade, the need to use cheap native crews on trading vessels, the difficulties of establishing trading stations in remote places, the financial risks inherent in the changeover from sail to steam, and the politics of German annexation as it affected trading interests. There is little ethnographic comment, which indicates a certain cast of mind. By contrast, the frustrations of being a South Sea trader, largely dependent on others at every turn, emerge repeatedly, and the editors are right to point out that the *Diaries* in particular served as a "safety valve," with Hernsheim in the heat of the moment making judgments and comments about rivals, associates, and employees alike that often did less than justice to either party (p. vii). The *Reminiscences* are more restrained, having been written in affluent retirement, but not the three pamphlets attacking the New Guinea Company as a dangerous rival and the costly fiasco it was.

So far so good. Hernsheim's writings are a worthy addition to the meager corpus of published traders' accounts and we can be grateful to Sack and Clark for making this selection available. But the overall value of *South Sea Merchant* is seriously impaired by the lack of editorial guidance provided by Sack and Clark. One can only feel regret that this side of the project was largely sidestepped. The point to be made here is that the Hernsheim manuscripts do not stand by themselves because

Hernsheim takes too much for granted in his *Reminiscences* and leaves too much unexplained in his *Diaries*. The background to episodes and incidents is often passed over in silence by Hernsheim, while individuals come and go without being introduced. Editorial guidance in the form of explanatory footnotes is especially needed but largely lacking. Overall, there are about two footnotes to every seven pages of text. The majority are cross-references to other parts of the book; the remainder explain or elaborate upon a point made in the text, most often by referring the reader to other sources.

What characterizes the editorial footnotes is that they are too few in number and too inconsistently applied to be useful, and that the bibliographic ones refer readers solely to published accounts. Contemporary manuscript accounts—whether emanating from fellow traders, planters, missionaries, naval officers, colonial officials, or travelers—have been completely ignored. This is a remarkable omission and the more so since Dr. Sack is ideally placed to consult this material: he holds a tenured research position at the Australian National University, and so has every opportunity to consult this material on microfilm at the National Library of Australia on the other side of Lake Burley Griffin. It is to be regretted that Sack and Clark show no interest or even awareness of the very material whose use would have made *South Sea Merchant* a worthwhile editorial effort and a more valuable published source as distinct from a deciphering and translation exercise. In its present form the book may be likened to raw material rather than a processed product. It is not good enough for the editors to suggest that explanatory footnoting represents “persistent shows of petty scholarship” (p. vii); in reality Sack and Clark just don’t know how to find their way among documentary records.

A few examples will suffice to show the type of editorial assistance that might have been provided. Hernsheim describes the business interests of Adolph Capelle, one of his commercial rivals in Micronesia. It is a brief and largely unrevealing account (p. 32) and nothing as full as the one provided in the diary of J. L. Young (entry for 8 July 1876), which is available on Pacific Manuscript Bureau microfilm (PMB 21). It would have been useful as well as enlivening to Hernsheim’s sober prose had Sack and Clark specified the “lapses” attributed to Hernsheim’s agent on Kosrae by the resident American missionaries (p. 66). According to the missionaries, the man was “a drunkard, a liar, a thief and sodomite—practicing all these vices had opportunity offered” (Pease and Whitney to Clark, 20 March 1880, ABCFM Papers, National Library of Australia microfilm G4128).

On the same page a Captain Kustel is mentioned by Hernsheim simply as "the owner of a small schooner." Sack and Clark provide no further details so Kustel remains one of the many faceless, anonymous figures that pass through *South Sea Merchant*. It is not that there is nothing to be found on this Captain Kustel. The Shipping Intelligence Columns of the *Samoa Times*, 1879–1881, reveal that Kustel was a speculative trader of the old school and that he owned four vessels—the schooners *Pearl*, *Undine*, and *Pannonia*, and the brigantine *Sheet Anchor*. His vessels brought cargoes of timber and provisions from San Francisco and Puget Sound to Apia and Levuka and serviced a network of trading stations in the Caroline Islands. Kustel finally entered the employ of Wightman Bros. in the Gilbert Islands and his opposition to the declaration of a British protectorate in 1892 led to his expulsion from the group (see CO 225/41/24910 and subsequent dispatches).

The final example of lack of editorial guidance concerns the merging of the DHPG with Robertson & Hernsheim to form a consolidated German trading monopoly over Micronesia. I, for one, never realized until reading *South Sea Merchant* that personality clashes between those involved complicated the amalgamation of the two firms into the Jaluit-Gesellschaft (p. 106). But again the details provided by Hernsheim are sketchy. This is an obvious case where Sack and Clark might have elaborated in an editorial footnote, at least referring readers to the relevant material in the Reichskolonialamt Records (available on microfilm in the National Library of Australia) and preferably adding further details from this source.

In view of the amount of editorial commentary left out, it is sometimes surprising to see what has been included. Sack and Clark may not provide additional information on Adolph Capelle yet they inform readers that Paul Heyse, whom Hernsheim mentions in passing, won the Nobel prize for literature in 1911 (p. 7); and while they pass over the formation of the Jaluit-Gesellschaft in silence they note that Helist and Hora, whom Hernsheim alludes to fleetingly, were legendary chiefs who led the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England (p. 103). If nothing else these and other such inclusions (see p. 38) reveal a quaintly Eurocentric sense of editorial priorities.

In short the sparing application of editorial guidance reveals a lack of familiarity with Hernsheim's Pacific milieu on the editors' part. Where bibliographic detail is provided, it is confined to published sources. Thus the only reference to German warship activity noted by Sack and Clark is the retrospective published account of the 1878 cruise of the *Ariadne* (p. 48). The official accounts of all the other German warships

mentioned by Hernsheim, although in the Reichskolonialamt Records, are never noted by Sack and Clark. Nor do the editors appear to be acquainted with the various contemporary published accounts concerning Micronesia.

I put down *South Sea Merchant* with mixed feelings. There was certainly a sense of gratitude to Sack and Clark for their initiative in bringing out this selection of Hernsheim's writings. But the predominant feeling was one of disappointment that the necessary editorial work had been largely left undone.

Patrick Vinton Kirch and D. E. Yen, *Tikopia: The Prehistory and Ecology of a Polynesian Outlier*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 238. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1982. Pp. xviii, 396, 129 figures, 54 tables. Paper \$32.00.

Reviewed by Richard Feinberg, Kent State University, Ohio

Tikopia is a Polynesian "outlier" in the eastern Solomon Islands. Sir Raymond Firth's extensive ethnographic writings have made it one of the Pacific's best documented communities. *Tikopia: The Prehistory and Ecology of a Polynesian Outlier*, by Patrick Kirch and Douglas Yen, is a worthy addition to the island's literary corpus.

The study on which this book is based grew out of an attempt to answer several related questions. First and perhaps foremost was to determine the ancestral homeland of the Polynesian outlier communities. Scholars have debated this issue for almost a century (e.g., see Thilenius 1902; Churchill 1911). Are they relict populations left behind in the course of a great eastward migration from the Asian mainland, through the islands of the western Pacific, and out into the Polynesian Triangle? Or are they the result of later "back-migrations" from territory commonly regarded as Polynesia proper? The authors' involvement in an interdisciplinary study of culture history in the southeastern Solomons during the early 1970s forced them to take a careful look at this problem. In addition, Tikopia has figured prominently in the debate almost from the start (e.g., see Rivers 1914:237-238). Aside from its critical location on the eastern fringe of Melanesia, the extensive ethnographic data and traditional history reported by Firth make the Tikopia case particularly salient.

A second set of questions involve sequence of occupation. In 1971 Kirch and Rosendahl (1973) excavated Anuta, Tikopia's nearest neigh-

bor, 120 km to the northeast. Evidence of habitation on Anuta was discovered to date back close to three thousand years, suggesting the likelihood of at least an equally long period of occupation for Tikopia. Moreover, the Anutan data raised a number of perplexing questions that seemed likely to be elucidated by archaeological findings from Tikopia. Among these were: an apparent one thousand-year hiatus in Anutan settlement; the cultural affiliations of pre- and post-hiatus populations; the history and prehistory of interisland contacts; and the relationship between oral tradition and archaeological reconstruction. These issues have been discussed by Kirch and Rosendahl (1973), Davidson (1975), Feinberg (1976), and subsequent to *Tikopia's* publication, by Kirch (1982).

A final set of questions involved the relationship between Tikopia's human inhabitants and their cultural and natural environments. To understand this relationship required documentation of environmental exploitation and geological change over a period of several millennia. Geological data were provided courtesy of the Solomon Islands Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources. Environmental exploitation was elucidated by the combined inputs of archaeological and ethnobotanical evidence. Analysis of Tikopian agriculture was based on journal entries and records of early European explorers; Firth's descriptions dating to the 1920s; contemporary observations by Yen; and careful comparison with other Pacific islands—particularly Anuta.

The project taken on by Kirch and Yen was clearly an ambitious one. On the other hand, the researchers—a renowned ethnobotanist and an accomplished Pacific archaeologist—were well suited to the task. Overall, they have turned in a creditable performance, integrating the several strands of data and presenting the results in a cogent, readable form.

For the most part, the authors' findings fulfilled their expectations. Tikopia's period of continuous habitation does indeed begin almost three thousand years ago, with tenuous suggestions of sporadic visits dating back close to another thousand years. Kirch and Yen divide Tikopia culture history into four periods, each typified by a distinctive artifactual assemblage. The earliest, termed the "Kiki Phase," is characterized by Lapitoid ceramic ware and lasted from about 900 to 100 B.C. The Kiki Phase gave way rather abruptly to the "Sinapupu Phase," characterized by incised Mangaasi-style pottery, apparently imported from northern Vanuatu. The Sinapupu Phase lasted to perhaps the fifteenth century A.D. and gradually gave way to the "Tuakamali Phase." The latter period is distinguished by a characteristically Polynesian arti-

factual assemblage and complete disappearance of ceramic ware. European contact began with Quiros' visit in A.D. 1606, and by the early 1800s important changes had been wrought. Kirch and Yen use A.D. 1800 as the date marking the end of the Tuakamali and the inception of the "Historic Phase."

Over the period of human habitation, the natural environment evolved along with the cultural. Erosion was offset by shoreline aggradation, encouraged by a growing emphasis on arboriculture, featuring *Calophyllum*, coconut, and *Antiaris* (the local bark-cloth tree). As a result, Tikopia's land area has increased substantially over the past three millennia, with a corresponding reduction of the fringing reef. During the Tuakamali Phase, an open saltwater bay was transformed into a brackish lake. As early as the Kiki Phase, marine life and avifauna became less abundant, and wild animal protein was supplemented with domestic pig. Pig husbandry flourished briefly, but was abandoned late in the Sinapupu Phase.

Through the entire sequence, contact with the isles of northern Vanuatu, Santa Cruz, and Western Polynesia attests to a complexity belying the apparent isolation of this tiny dot of land amid the vast Pacific Ocean. Thus, while the relict population theory receives no support, the authors also find the back-migration hypothesis overly simplistic and, therefore, unsatisfactory. Significantly, despite persistent concern with the relationship between man and environment, the authors shun environmental determinism. Rather, they give considerable credence to the symbolic construction of reality and recognize a dialectic in which people adapt to their material surroundings, while those surroundings are transformed and in a sense created in the adaptation process.

Perhaps the most enlightening and potentially controversial sections of the book are those exploring the relationship between oral tradition and culture history. Anthropologists have generally avoided interpreting traditional materials as historical, or even quasihistorical documents. Thus I felt myself at considerable risk when I commented several years ago that "I am inclined to give general credence to the Anutans' version of their island's history, at least in its broad outlines" (Feinberg 1981:7). And therefore, I was particularly pleased to find a close convergence between Tikopia's oral history and culture history as reconstructed from archaeological, geomorphological, and other material evidence convincingly documented in Kirch and Yen's report. In their book the genealogical time depth of Tikopia's current Polynesian population, the civil wars leading to extermination or expulsion of groups

known as Nga Ravenga and Nga Faea by Nga Ariki (ancestors of the present inhabitants), the founding of the Taumako "clan" by a Tongan chief named Te Atafu, and the combination of Polynesian and Melanesian strains to form the current Tikopia population—all recorded in detail by Firth—receive external affirmation.

The authors also briefly reconsider the Anuta sequence in light of Tikopian data. Particularly gratifying here is confirmation of my argument (Feinberg 1976) that Anuta's original settlers—who occupied the island for a period of several centuries prior to a long hiatus—are different from the *apukere*, "autochthones," of current oral tradition. Also in my 1976 comment, I noted (contra Kirch and Rosendahl 1973 and Davidson 1975) that although oral traditions distinguish the *apukere* from Anuta's present population, there is considerable evidence suggesting that the *apukere* themselves were Polynesians. Kirch and Yen (pp. 344–345) have now presented evidence, albeit inconclusive, indicating that even the pre-*apukere* ceramic-makers may have been migrants from the Polynesian Triangle. (This is not to say that they were Polynesian in the contemporary sense as the cultural and genetic affiliation of the classical Lapita-makers is, itself, uncertain. However, it does indicate the long-standing eastward character of Anuta's geographical orientation.)

Equally intriguing, the authors show significant divergences between Tikopian and Anutan prehistory, with little evidence of contact between the two islands until well into the most recent phase. This finding may help to explain a surprising report by a team of population geneticists (Blake et al. 1983) indicating that despite the close cultural, linguistic, and (apparently superficial) physical similarity between Anutans and Tikopians, and despite much intermarriage between the two communities over the past several generations, Tikopia's closest genetic relationship is with the Melanesian islands of the Banks, Torres, and Santa Cruz groups while Anuta is a genetic isolate.

As is true of any book, *Tikopia* has its flaws. Happily, most are minor. For example, one might quarrel with Kirch and Yen's characterization of Tikopia's agricultural system as being more open in the past than at present (pp. 26–27). In some respects, input from other Pacific islands undoubtedly declined with European contact, particularly with the reduction of interisland canoe travel, beginning at the time of establishment of the British Protectorate and Anglican mission. However, as interisland canoe voyaging declined, contact via ship with other islanders and Europeans increased and has had a continuing influence on the agricultural systems of islands like Tikopia and Anuta, as well as on

other spheres of life. My guess is that there may have been a relatively "closed" period from perhaps the 1920s through the 1970s, when traditional voyaging was dying out and European shipping was still irregular. Over the past decade or two, however, all aspects of Tikopian and Anutan life have undergone considerable change, largely as a result of contact with outsiders.

I would similarly question reference to "the *consistent* application [of mulch to manioc gardens] on Anuta" (p. 43, emphasis added; see also Yen 1973). During the year I spent on Anuta in 1972-1973, taro was routinely mulched, but not manioc. Perhaps, by coincidence, it simply was not done while I was there. Given the food shortage and drought of the 1972 trade wind season, however, I would be surprised if this were the case.

Ecologically and archaeologically, I was struck by the omission of Patutaka (Fataka) as a possible source of food and raw materials. Patutaka is an uninhabitable island southeast of Anuta, which has been visited regularly, at least in recent generations, both by Tikopians and Anutans, and which geologically and ecologically is quite distinct from either of its populated neighbors (see Feinberg 1983). One wonders if some of the materials cited by Kirch and Yen as evidence of trade could have been quarried on Patutaka and carried back home by ancient Tikopian mariners.

A possible gap also occurs in the discussion of fishing technology. If Tikopians were at all like the Anutans, they made not only shell hooks and lures, but also small hooks out of fish bone and large ones from wood. The small hooks were used for drop-line fishing over inshore reefs and casting from shore; the large wooden ones were used for sharks and large game fish on the open sea. Both of these types may date back a long time, and there is a good chance that neither would show up in the archaeological record.

A minor irritation to me is the misrendering of several Tikopian words. "Tobacco," for example, is given as *tepaka* (e.g., p. 37). In fact, it should be *paka*; *te* is the definite article, as may be seen in such constructions as *te rau paka*, "tobacco leaf." And reference is made (p. 46) to "a channel called *vaisaria*." *Vai saria* (ANU: *vai taria*) is simply the generic term for "flowing water." On the other hand, while these are irritants to someone who has spent the bulk of his professional life immersed in the ethnography of Tikopia and Anuta, they are of little consequence to the typical reader, unfamiliar with the local vernacular.

Tikopia, despite the few minor objections, is an excellent production, thoroughly professional throughout. The argument and data are clearly

presented. The text is well edited, with few typographical errors. The book is sturdily bound with the plain but tough paper cover typical of the Bishop Museum Bulletin series. It is extensively illustrated with maps, tables, diagrams, and photographs—several in color, including a striking frontispiece showing Tikopia's crater lake and coastal flat from the summit of 400-meter-high Mt. Reani.

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Peter Lawrence, *The Garia: An Ethnography of a Traditional Cosmic System in Papua New Guinea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. Pp. xxv, 276, figures, plates, genealogies, tables, bibliography, index. \$27.50.

Reviewed by Terence E. Hays, Rhode Island College and Australian National University

Pacific specialists have long been familiar with the work of Peter Lawrence, especially his classic *Road Belong Cargo* (Manchester and Melbourne, 1964). *The Garia* follows that book in a projected trilogy on the southern Madang Province of Papua New Guinea, to be completed with a general study of the Ngaing of the Rai Coast (p. 1). It is a logical sequel to *Road* since it contains a fuller account of Garia religion (chaps. 7-8) than did the earlier, more specialized analysis of cargo movements in the wider region. The book is not only a study of Garia religion, however, for the "cosmic system" referred to in the subtitle includes "their generalized economic and sociopolitical structure" as well (p. 1). Lawrence's main concern regarding the two realms of human and "superhuman" beings is with "how they impinge, or are believed to impinge, on each other in everyday social behaviour, land tenure, local organization and sociopolitical control" (p. 5). Thus, rather than a narrowly focused treatment of Garia cosmology in the usual sense of the word, the present work is offered as "an ethnography in the general field of network analysis" (p. 4).

The Garia could almost have been the first volume in the planned trilogy. Lawrence says that its "substantive first draft" was his 1951 doctoral thesis, published now "with some embellishment but relatively little basic modification" (p. xxi). Certainly, Melanesianists will recognize a sizeable portion of the book (chaps. 1-6) as his earlier monograph, *Land Tenure among the Garia* (Canberra, 1955), "with some embellishment."

It may be that Lawrence was ahead of his time in the 1950s in presenting Garia social organization as fitting poorly the "African models" then in vogue, a point discussed by Meyer Fortes in a useful summarizing foreword (pp. ix-xiii). But the intervening decades have witnessed major controversies concerning relationships among land pressure, descent ideology, and group formation in Papua New Guinea societies. Lawrence acknowledges the importance of these issues—indeed, they constitute the major ethnographic foci of this book—but he treats the larger debates only as brief asides (e.g., pp. 123-125) and, oddly, declares that the "detailed examination of these kinds of conjecture has

no place in a work such as this" (p. 125). One is frustrated by the particularistic nature of the book, especially when the author repeatedly implies (correctly) that the Garia material has wider relevance, as in his use of global-sounding chapter titles and subtitles: for example, "The Structural Form of Human Society" (chap. 2), and ". . . Disputes in Human Society" (chap. 6). If he has indeed primarily "addressed the work to professional anthropologists" (p. 245), he must anticipate some disappointment on their part that the theoretical issues involved here are not dealt with more fully.

Also likely to disappoint specialists—and surely the audience of indigenous public servants and "new expatriates" (diplomats and businessmen, etc.) he hopes will find this book useful (p. 246)—is the fact that Lawrence has "concentrated on the Garia as [he] knew them between 1949 and 1953" (p. 245), hence the "Traditional" in the book's subtitle. He has made numerous (if short) field trips to the Garia throughout the 1960s and 1970s and into the 1980s, but the vast bulk of the extended case material and statistical information included here derives from the earlier period. This choice of substantive emphasis proves especially troublesome when one tries to assess Lawrence's numerous claims regarding the "resilience" and "essential conservatism" of the Garia, and a brief "Epilogue: The Garia and the Modern World" (pp. 245-253) seems more of an afterthought than a culminating statement.

It is, of course, unfair to criticize an author for not writing the book one might have preferred, but I think that many would have welcomed with excitement a comprehensive study of the Garia such as Lawrence could write with the benefit of over thirty years of fieldwork among them and a long and distinguished career as an anthropologist. Given the announced plan to shift the focus to the Ngaing for his next major work, it appears that we are still to be kept on tenterhooks.

O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific Since Magellan*. Vol. 2, *Monopolists and Freebooters*. Canberra: Australian National University Press; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983. Pp. xxi, 426. A\$ 39.00. U.S.\$59.50.

Reviewed by Barrie Macdonald, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Monopolists and Freebooters is the second volume in Spate's *The Pacific Since Magellan*, the aim of which is "to seek to explicate the process by which the greatest blank on the map became a nexus of global commer-

cial and strategic relations." Volume 1, *The Spanish Lake* (1979), covered the story from a little before Magellan until a little after Drake—essentially the sixteenth century. In this volume, Spate is mostly concerned with the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, though he traces the fate of Spain's American possessions through to the early nineteenth century—a device that tides off a major theme of his work and will, presumably, make for an uncluttered discussion of British and French exploration and expansion in Volume 3. *Monopolists and Freebooters*, like its predecessor, is still very much the history of the Pacific Ocean, the lands that encircle it, and politics in Europe; it is the history of a period in which the rim of the Pacific basin became quite well known but its contents—especially the shrinking Terra Australis—remained incognita.

A major theme of the book is the growth of Dutch interests in the Pacific from the first incursions of the late sixteenth century to the effective monopoly established by the 1670s. The turbulent nature of the early years is encapsulated in the report of Jan Pieterszoon Coen, governor general at Batavia (Jakarta) to his directors in Amsterdam: "We cannot carry on trade without war nor war without trade." In Asia Dutch expansion—which stretched into Japan and China, well beyond the previous limits of European influence—was achieved largely at the expense of Spanish and Portuguese interests; in central and south America Iberian interests were challenged by buccaneers and privateers (both legitimate, in the sense that they were licensed by European governments, and illegitimate) and, finally, by the prosperous Criollo elites of the colonies themselves.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Pacific Ocean was ringed by pockets of European settlement representing a mixture of strategic, commercial, and religious hopes and enterprises. While culture contact is expected to be a major theme of the forthcoming volume, there is some discussion of relationships between foreigners and indigenes. Generally, however, these are subsumed into the broader theme of European expansion, the author's approach making it inevitable that the implications of conflict, for example, are seen more clearly in this context than as a part of an ongoing indigenous history. And although there can be little space given to these discussions, Spate leaves his readers in no doubt as to his assessment of many of these early agents of imperial expansion. While many modern historians hesitate to commit themselves openly, Spate's judgment, both implicit and explicit, of his historical characters and of historical situations is an essential part of the style of the book (as, indeed, are the breadth of Spate's allusions, his wit, and his delightful use of language). Thus he does not hesitate to describe the

Jesuit mission to the Marianas as being "carried forward behind a creeping barrage of sheer terrorism," to comment that "by the time the Marianas were safely Christian, most of the Chamorros were safely dead," to conclude that this onslaught on the Chamorros was "the more pitiful because so needless" given that "traffic with the natives" could have met the needs of the galleons, and to lament with Lucretius the evils committed in the name of religion (pp. 116-118).

The storms, calms, and crosscurrents of an ocean's history are impossible to chart in a brief review; suffice it to say that a reader cannot but be impressed by both the scope of Spate's grasp of his subject and the breadth of his vision across Europe, the Pacific Ocean, and the continents and islands around and within it. Because of this breadth of vision, and the sureness of Spate's touch and his ability to draw on the fruits of a lifetime of scholarship, diverse threads can be woven into a single fabric. But the reader who is not to be overwhelmed by ships, blockades, campaigns, skirmishes, intrigues, and a host of colorful characters needs both a very good knowledge of geography (or a good map) and a great deal of persistence. *Monopolists and Freebooters* is densely packed with both information and insights (which might, for the benefit of the nonspecialist, have been alleviated by more generalization), but it will force sections of the historical profession, which have for their own convenience compartmentalized the history of the Pacific Ocean, to reappraise the conceptual basis of their work.

NEW RUSSIAN BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC, 1982-1983

Patricia Polansky, Russian Bibliographer
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This is the third survey attempting to acquaint Pacific researchers with the major new monographs from the Soviet Union.¹ The reviews are not comprehensive. Any suggestions or criticisms would be welcome.

Conferences

The Thirteenth Conference on the Study of Australia and Oceania [XIII Konferentsiia po izucheniiu Avstralii i Okeanii] took place May 20-21, 1982, in Moscow and was reported by M. S. Butinova in *Sovetskaiia etnografia* [Soviet ethnography] (1983, no. 2, pp. 140-143). The participants and papers² were as follows: N. B. Lebedeva, "On the ques-

tion of the typology of the developing world: the lesser developed countries (for example, Oceania)"; V. G. Grishin spoke on U.S. military activity in Micronesia; V. P. Nikolaev discussed the type of economic help the Australians have provided in Oceania; D. D. Tumarkin presented a letter that Gladstone had written to Miklukho-Maklai; A. IA. Massov spoke on the slave trade in New Guinea, 1883-1884; K. IU. Bem, "The Policies of Germany in Oceania, 1918-1936"; O. IU. Artemova, "Leaders in Australia's aborigine society"; T. V. Seniuta looked at the marriage exchange customs of aborigines in Australia; A. S. Petrikovskaia examined the literary writings of Australian aborigines for ethnographic information; M. S. Butinova, "The Polynesian pantheon"³; I. K. Fedorova, "Traces of shamanism in Polynesian folklore"; K. IU. Meshkov, "Several aspects of Rapanui-Japanese parallels"; N. A. Butinov noted similar traits in the cultures of the Cook Islands (Southern) and Easter Island; E. S. Soboleva, "Ethnic processes on Timor Island"; O. V. Zernetskaia, "On the question of Australian-Ukrainian literary connections"; B. B. Rubtsov, "Australia's economy at the beginning of the 1980s"; L. G. Stefanchuk, "Economic policy of New Zealand's government, 1975-1981"; A. IU. Suchkov, "Several aspects of the influence of the energy crisis on the economic development of the countries of the Asiatic-Pacific region"; A. V. Chuiko, "The significance of foreign trade for Australia and the basic tendencies of its development"; O. V. Zharova, "The constitutional crisis in Australia in 1975 and the fall of the labor government of Whitlam"; N. P. Chelintseva, "The development of Australian-American relations, late 1970s to early 1980s"; M. M. Solodkina, "Criticisms of the bourgeois conceptions of Australia's economic development"; A. I. Martynov, "On the question of the typological features of the development of bourgeois foreign political thought and the historiography of Australia's foreign policy, 1901-1941"; I. V. Kovler, "On the history of the formation of New Zealand's liberal party at the end of the 19th century"; I. G. Kanevskaia, "The role of inter-colonial conferences 1860-1870 during the development of the federal movement in Australia"; A. IU. Rudnitskii, "The problem of the allocation of colonial self-rule and the historical views of [Charles] Manning Clark"; V. I. Kotliarova, "The myth about flourishing and the stories of Hal Porter"; N. G. Natanishvili, "New Zealand in the 1930s and the establishment of Frank Sargeson"; I. V. Golovnia, "The drama of Davis Williamson."

The Fourteenth Scientific Conference on the Study of Australia and Oceania [XIV nauchnaia konferentsiia po izuchenii Avstralii i Okeaniii] took place May 19-20, 1983, in Moscow. There were two pamphlets

published by Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry in 1983 and issued in one hundred copies each. The first contains the program (Programma. 31 p.) with summaries of all the papers, and the second carries longer abstracts (Tezisy dokladov. 67 p.) of seventeen of the papers. Those papers with longer abstracts in the second booklet will be noted with an asterisk (*) below. The two-day four-session conference was introduced by K. V. Malakhovskii and included the following presentations: V. P. Kudinov, The struggle for a united activity of the trade unions of the countries of Asia, Australia, and Oceania*; V. P. Nikolaev, Neocolonial policy of Australia and New Zealand in Oceania*; A. S. Petrikovskaia, The developing countries of Oceania as an object of inter-cultural influence*; A. IU. Suchkov, Several problems of the development of international relations among the countries of the Pacific basin*; N. P. Chelintseva, The development of Australo-Japanese relations in the 1970-80s*; B. B. Rubtsov, The economy of New Zealand in the 1980s*; V. B. Amirov, New occurrences in the concentration of production and capital in Australia during 1970-80*; N. V. Gordeeva, Economic position of Australia in the 1981/82 financial year; A. V. Chuiko, Problems of developing Australia's agriculture; P. M. Ivanov, J. E. Morrison and the development of Australian-Chinese studies*; L. G. Stefanchuk, The parliament and cabinet in the political system of New Zealand*; I. V. Kovler, Basic stages of establishing the National Party of New Zealand*; O. V. Zharova, Political directions of the Australian Labor Party, 1950-70s*; E. I. Razzakova, Movement of Australia's native population for civil equality (rights) at the present time*; A. IA. Massov, Australian colonialism and the League of Nations; G. I. Kanevskaia, Immigration policy of the Australian colonies of Great Britain during the second half of the 19th century; K. IU. Bem, German-Australian relations in 1938*; M. M. Solodkina, Socio-economic crisis 1891-1895 [in Australia]*; L. S. Klevtsur, Several aspects of the state-monopolistic regulation of Australia's agriculture; N. A. Butinov, Shell money in Melanesia; M. S. Butinova, Where can Hawaiki be found?; O. IU. Artemova, Elements of individual specialization among Australia's aborigines*; L. A. Abramian, Australian wandering hero of the Malpunga and the exiled Oedipus; IA. V. Chestnov, The diversity and homogeneity in the ethno-cultural processes of Oceania; I. K. Fedorova, The voyages of the Polynesians (based on folklore material); D. D. Tumarkin, From the history "Project of the development of the Maclay coast" (based on new archival materials); K. IU. Meshkov, The Island as a sacral understanding*; O. V. Zernetskaia, The theme of the struggle for peace in the works of K. S. Prichard (The novel "Subtle

flame"); N. G. Nanitashvili, Literary traditions in the works of F. Sargeson; V. I. Kotliarova, "The crisis of personality" and the novels of D. Cusack; E. V. Govor, Sophia Vitkovskaia and her trip to Australia. There is one abstract that does not appear in the official program—I. V. Golovnia writes on the sources for Australian drama.

General

The journal article "Sektor narodov zarubezhnoi Azii, Avstraliiia i Okeanii Instituta etnografii AN SSSR" [The sector of the peoples on non-Soviet Asia, Australia, and Oceania of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences] (*Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1983, no. 2, pp. 146–153), written by S. A. Arutiunov and N. L. Zhukovskaia reviews the twenty-fifth year of existence of this section. Although most of the survey is concerned with Asian countries, the main study objectives of the Institute of Ethnography are given, as well as three references to Oceania/Australian activities—the two research cruises on the *Dmitrii Mendeleev* to the Pacific, an exhibition on the ethnography and art of Oceania mounted by N. Michoutouchkine and Pilokio from Vanuatu, and the 14th Pacific Science Congress in Khabarovsk in 1979.

The USSR Academy's Institute of Government and Law has issued a work called *Gosudarstvo v stranakh kapitalisticheskoi orientatsii* [Government in the countries of capitalistic orientation] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1982). The social class structure, government mechanisms (head, parliament, etc.), and government relationship to political parties are discussed in eight chapters. Examples of studies are from Tropical Africa, Oceania, and the Caribbean basin. Fiji, the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Tonga, Nauru, Tuvalu, and Kiribati are the Oceania states cited.

V. N. IArtseva has edited a useful reference book on *IAzyki i dialekty mira; prospekt i slovnik* [Languages and dialects of the world; prospectus and glossary] (Moskva: Nauka, 1982). Oceanic languages make up pages 76–94; Papuan languages, 94–107; and the languages of Australia and Tasmania, 107–123. Not only is the name of the language in Russian, which can help in translation work, but one gets a sense of how the Soviets vary or agree with general linguistic classifications of these languages.

The Pacific basin idea has emerged in the past few years both in Western and Soviet thought and writings as a new concept in regional development. A. B. Parkanskii of the USSR Academy's Institute of the USA and Canada has a new work entitled *Ekonomicheskie interesy*

SShA v aziatsko-tikookeanskem regione [The economic interests of the USA in the Asiatic-Pacific region] (Moskva: Nauka, 1983). The four large sections concentrate on the Asian countries, Japan in particular. However, Australia and New Zealand are discussed to a slight extent.

Another work edited by V. I. Ivanov and K. V. Malakhovskii is *Tikookeanskii regionalizm: kontseptsii i real'nost'* [Pacific regionalism: the concept and reality] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983). A summary in English, pages 259–261, concludes that cooperation in the Pacific is not free from political motives and strategic considerations of particularly the U.S., Japan, ASEAN, and to some extent the Soviet Union.

A good example of the invaluable reference compilations the Soviets do is the work by D. A. Shirina, *Letopis' ekspeditsii Akademii nauk na Severo-Vostok Azii v dorevoliutsionnyi period* [Chronicles of expeditions of the Academy of Sciences to northeast Asia during the pre-revolution period] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, Sibirske otd-nie, 1983). There are twenty-one expeditions, each covered in the following areas: organization, goals, composition, route, results, and notes. Of particular interest are pages 48–57 on the “1803–1806 Pervaya russkaia krugosvetnaia ekspeditsia I. F. Kruzenshterna i IU. F. Lisianskogo” [The first Russian around-the-world expedition of I. F. Kruzenshtern and IU. F. Lisianskii, 1803–1806].

Finally, a geographic atlas has been issued in booklet format in the series *Atlas mira* [Atlases of the world]. It is entitled *Australiia i Okeaniia, Antarktida* [Australia and Oceania, Antarctica] (Moskva: Glav. upravlenie geodezii i kartografii, 1982). There are eight maps, two pages of legend, a population chart, and a geographic index in the twenty-four pages that comprise this handy reference.

Travel/Voyages

Two early voyagers to the Pacific are treated by Kim Vladimirovich Malakhovskii. The first is *Trizhdy vokrug sveta* [Three times around the world] (Moskva: Nauka, 1982), which is a popular biography of the explorations of the British seafarer William Dampier. The second work is *V poiskakh IUzhnoi zemli* [In search of a Southern land] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983), which is about the Spanish explorer Pedro Fernandes de Queiros.

Miloslav Stingl, a popular Czech writer who has traveled several times in the Pacific and has many publications on the area, presents an amazingly good physical description of the Hawaiian Islands and their history from his visit there in the book *Ocharovannye Gavaii* [Charm-

ing Hawaii] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983). It first appeared in Czech in 1981 and was then translated into Russian.

Australia

In the literary field three works have been published. O. V. Zernetskaia at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences discusses various social, political, and literary influences on the novel in her work *Australiiskii sotsial'nyi roman 30-kh godov XX veka* [The Australian social novel of the 1930s] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1982). Ten novelists are discussed.

The well-known translator Andrei Sergeev has gathered a collection of poetry from various countries in the work *I slyshno more; poetry IAponii, Australii, Afriki, Vest-Indii (XX vek)* [And one can hear the sea; poets of Japan, Australia, Africa, the West Indies (20th century)] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983). Selections from seven poets are included from Australia—D. Stewart, J. Manifold, J. Wright, M. Gilmore, R. Dobson, J. Devaney, and K. Slessor.

A collection of Frank Dalby Davison's stories have been translated from English into Russian and presented under the title *Nepokornaia*⁴ (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983). Alla S. Petrikovskaia writes the introduction and is the compiler of the stories selected.

In the series "U karty mira" [Maps of the world], Oleg N. Anichkin, Lina I. Kurakova, and Lidiia G. Frolova have produced a colorfully illustrated popular book entitled *Australiia* [Australia] (Moskva: Mysl', 1983). The pictures are quite nice with the text divided into four sections—nature, history, people and culture, and the economy.

Tiazhelaia promyshlennost' v ekonomike i politike Australii [Heavy industry in Australia's economy and politics] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1982) by Viktor IA. Vybornov covers 1901–1980 and is divided into two sections—stages of development of heavy industry and basic factors in the development of heavy industry. A resume in English appears on pages 98–99.

Finally, Hannah Middleton's work, *But now we want the land back* (Sydney, 1977) has been translated into Russian, *Teper' pust' nam vernut zemliu* (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983). It is a history of the economic, political, and social problems of Australia's aborigines.

Ethnography

Two works in English have appeared on the famous Russian anthropologist Nikolai N. Miklukho-Maclay. Dr. Daniil D. Tumarkin of the Insti-

tute of Ethnography in Moscow has compiled, annotated, and written the forward to a work entitled *Travels to New Guinea; diaries, letters, documents* (Moscow: Progress, 1982). It contains twenty-seven letters and documents from Soviet archives. Dr. Boris N. Putilov's biography, *Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay; traveller, scientist and humanist* (Moscow: Progress, 1982) is a somewhat glorified account. These two works will help scholars learn more about Maclay's life and work.

The questions of ethnogenesis and ethnic history are dealt with by Pavel I. Puchkov in his book *Etnicheskaiia situatsiia v Okeanii* [The ethnic situation in Oceania] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1983). This is a lengthy study divided into four large sections: a short historical-geographical sketch, the grouping of Oceanic people by culture and language, the ethnic composition of the population, and other elements (such as migration influences, demographics, language, religion, politics, and interracial relations). The author recognizes that each island group and people are dealing with many different forces in separate ways. The bibliography, pages 233–249, contains 489 items, the majority in Western languages.

As a result of a visit in 1971 on the *Dmitrii Mendeleev*, N. A. Butinov has published *Polinezitsy ostrovoi Tuvalu* [Polynesians of the Tuvalu Islands] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1982). The discovery, economy, government, kinship system, property, oral history, and social customs are among the topics covered in seven chapters. A supplement at the end is a translation of R. Roberts article "Te Atu Tuvalu" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1958, v. 67).

Art

Aurora Publishers has issued a set of sixteen postcards assembled by A. Kantor-Gukovskaia, titled in English on the cover and in Russian inside *Paul Gauguin in Soviet Museums* [Pol' Gogen v muzeiakh SSSR] (Leningrad: Aurora, 1982). The reproductions are from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, and the Hermitage in Leningrad.

Easter Island

More work on deciphering the written texts from this mysterious island is presented by Irina K. Fedorova in the book *Zabytye sistemy pis'ma, Ostrov Paskhi, Velikoe Liao, Indiia; materialy po deshifrovke* [The forgotten systems of writing, Easter Island, Great Liao, India; materials on deciphering] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1982).

Fedorova's chapter is "Issledovanie rapanuiskikh tekstov" [Research on Rapanui texts], pages 23-98.

A large-format translation of Thor Heyerdahl's *Art of Easter Island* (N.Y., 1975) was published in Moscow by Iskusstvo in 1982. The Russian title is *Iskusstvo Ostrova Paskhi*. It was translated by L. Zhdanova and is mostly illustrations.

New Zealand

Alla S. Petrikovskaia provides the introduction to several stories by the Maori writer Witi Ihimera. The collection is called *V poiskakh Izumrudnogo goroda* [In search of the Emerald city] (Moskva: Izvestiia, 1982) and was issued in the series "Biblioteka zhurnala 'Inostrannaia literatura'" [The library of the journal *Foreign literature*].

Additional Notes

To the last review of new Soviet books, 1980-1981, which appeared earlier in *Pacific Studies* (1983, v. 7, no. 1), the following publications should be added: *Idei sotsializma i rabochee dvizhenie v Avstralii* [The concept of socialism and the workers movement in Australia], a collection of essays compiled by V. P. Kudinov (Moskva: Mysl', 1981)⁵; M. L. Plakhova and B. V. Alekseev, *Okeaniia dalekaia i blizkaia: putevoi dnevnik khudozhnikov* [Oceania far and near: the travel diary of artists] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981); K. V. Malakhovskii, *Istoriia Novoi Zelandii* [A history of New Zealand] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981); M. V. D'iachkov, A. A. Leont'ev, and E. I. Torsueva, *IAzyk tok-pisin (neo-melaneziiskii)* [The language talk-pidgin (neo-Melanesian)] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981); and B. B. Rubtsov, *Finansy, denezhnoe obrashchenie i kredit Avstralii* [Australia's finances, the monetary situation and credit] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981).

NOTES

1. See *Pacific Studies*, 1980, v. 4, no. 1 and 1983, v. 7, no. 1 for the first two covering 1974-1979 and 1980-1981. For brevity, only the translated titles are given for the conferences.

2. Titles were not given for all papers.

3. Various gods.
4. This first selection is the translation of Davison's novella *Man-shy*, the story of an independent-minded red-heifer. The Russian title would translate as "unruly."
5. There is a detailed bibliography in this book entitled "A bibliography of works on the labor and communist movement in Australia, published in Russian," by E. V. Govor, pp. 196-207.



